# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Fall 2010

*Cover: St. John's College, Annapolis Maryland, 1856–1858*

*German portrait painter Harman Faber drew this view of St. John's College from the deck of the U.S. sloop-of-war* Preble *as the ship lay anchored in the Severn River. At the time Faber sketched this image St. John's students engaged in typical nineteenth-century academic life, including a strict code of conduct that allowed them to leave campus only for church services. That semi-cloistered lifestyle ended abruptly in October 1861 as the Union Army occupied the campus grounds and several buildings, transforming the site into a prisoner of war camp and later a hospital. Faculty and students left to join the armies and parents called their sons home, forcing the college to close until after the surrender at Appomattox Courthouse in April 1865. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

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# MARYLAND
## *Historical Magazine*

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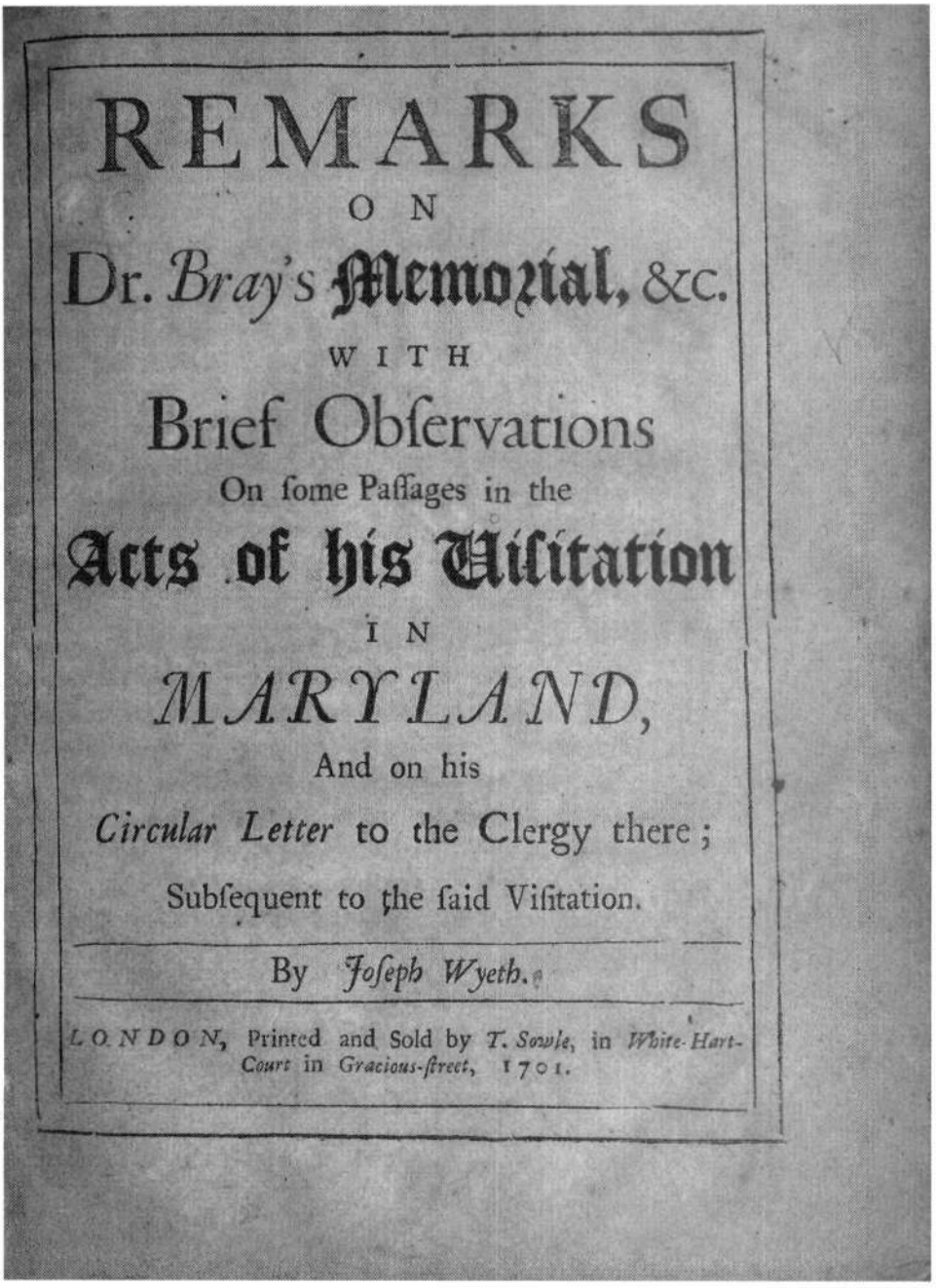

REMARKS
ON
Dr. *Bray's* Memorial, &c.
WITH
Brief Obſervations
On ſome Paſſages in the
Acts of his Viſitation
IN
*MARYLAND,*
And on his
*Circular Letter* to the Clergy there;
Subſequent to the ſaid Viſitation.

By *Joſeph Wyeth.*

*LONDON,* Printed and Sold by *T. Sowle,* in *White-Hart-Court* in *Gracious-ſtreet,* 1701.

*The Bishop of London commissioned Reverend Thomas Bray as his emissary to the Maryland Colony in 1700. Bray recruited missionaries, established parish libraries, and urged support of the Anglican Church in response to the growing numbers of Quakers and Catholics in the colony.*

# "Flight on the Wings of Vanity": Maryland Quakers' Struggle for Identity, 1715–1763

MILES COVERDALE

> *Be it Therefore . . . enacted . . . that no person or persons whatsoever within this Province . . . professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall . . . bee any waies troubled, molested or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion nor in the free exercise thereof within this Province.*[1]

This bold statement, taken from "A Law of Maryland Concerning Religion" passed in 1649, suggested for Maryland a future at the forefront of religious toleration in the British North American colonies, and a role as a haven for religious dissenters such as Quakers. However, over the course of the seventeenth century, Maryland became an increasingly hostile environment for members of the Society of Friends. In 1689, the removal of the proprietary government of the Catholic Lord Baltimore, and its replacement by a strongly Anglican royal government, led to Governor Nathaniel Blakiston branding Quakers as "our enemys," and as a threat to colonial good order. At the start of the eighteenth century, Quakers were highly anxious as to their future treatment. Yet the picture that emerges in this study is of the group's increasing acceptance in terms of their civic and political rights, a striking contrast to the continuing poor treatment of Catholics.

Though required to support an entrenched Anglican Church, Quakers' political rights allowed them to engage fully in the economic life of the colony. As they became engaged in wider colonial life, Friends began to lose the strong group religious identity formed during the discriminatory era of the late seventeenth century, a time of heightened identity for this godly community united in their struggle to uphold the truth. Increasing integration led to a blurring of strict moral boundaries. Rejections of the importance of worldly wealth and authority appeared increasingly at odds with the way many lived their lives. Some had produced substantial profits from tobacco farming, frequently gained through the exploitation of enslaved black

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African labor. In particular, many young people drifted away from the faith of their parents in favor of earthly rewards. As a result, the period 1715 to 1763 was as much one of decline for Maryland Quakers as it was one of their increasing acceptance and toleration by the wider community. This degradation of their core religious identity had a direct bearing upon the decision in the 1760s to adopt an antislavery position. Their political experiences convinced them that rejecting slavery was not only the godly course of action to follow, but was also essential in separating themselves from colonial society and reestablishing their religious identity.[2]

In exploring the "political" experience of Maryland Quakers, this study encompasses two critical elements in their lives. First, Quakers involved themselves with the colonial authorities of Maryland, both the legislative General Assembly and the executive governor and council. Studying Friends' interactions with political authorities, and their treatment at the hands of lawmakers, is vital to understanding their experiences in eighteenth-century Maryland. The records of the Maryland State Archives offer an insight into the political reality of the first half of the eighteenth century, including the motivations behind lawmakers' decisions and the subsequent impact upon colonists. Two key themes emerge in these official records: the extent to which the law allowed Quakers to actively participate in the political process, and the extent to which they could participate in the wider economic and social life of the colony. Records of acts that the assembly debated and passed illustrate the perception of Quaker colonists in the eyes of Maryland's rulers, and the extent to which Friends were able to engage with the institutions of colonial life.[3]

These institutional records, however, offer only one element of the experience. It is crucial to look beyond the political situation and assess the impact on individuals and, more importantly, the collective body. Establishing the impact of lawmakers' decisions upon the community requires an exploration of the internal political experience through the minutes of the Friends' own meetings, where they met to worship and to exercise governance over families. Quakers believed watching over the lives of one another was vital to maintaining their faith. Meetings settled disputes between members, set rules they should obey, approved marriages, and carried out other acts of communal oversight. Failure to follow instructions, and hence God's teachings, could lead to expulsion. The minutes of such meetings offer a chance to determine the impact of external political involvement upon the group's internal cohesion. In the past, historians have approached their analysis almost exclusively through these sources. By combining them with official governmental records, a more complete picture of Maryland Quakers' external and internal political experiences can be assembled.[4]

The records colonial authorities and Quaker meetings produced, however, leave many aspects of Friends' political experiences unaccounted for, particularly the overall effect of legislation upon the Quaker community. Nor can official records provide an external analysis of developments over time or a comparison between

the experiences of Friends in Maryland and the other North American colonies. The reports of travelling Friends provide a crucial additional source. Quakers in Maryland did not live in isolation from Friends in other colonies and in metropolitan Britain. Although never a large group, their strong internal organization and links outside the colony amplified their importance. Journals and letters from the pens of those familiar with the beliefs and practices of those with whom they visited also provide an external and comparative view of Quakerism within Maryland.[5]

Quakers stood apart from other members of British colonial society in many respects. For example, women frequently pointed out the ungodly aspects of the lives of the predominantly male heads of families and meetings. Whilst such a situation might have shocked other religious communities, this greater equality in religious matters was readily accepted as a consequence of belief in the equality of all before God. Friends held that all people could connect directly to God, without the need for outward sacraments or a trained priesthood. Within Quakers was an Inner Light, or Truth, that reflected their connection to God and to each other, and they sought simplicity in their dress as a rejection of wealth-based inequality. They rejected the self-indulgence wealth brought that distracted people from the truly important as well as the taking of oaths—swearing to tell the truth in one context implied deceit at other times. Excessive drinking and violence (including state-sanctioned wars) were regarded as immoral practices. In the context of colonial Maryland, a frontier colony with an economy based upon the enslavement of fellow human beings, these core tenets fundamentally challenged Quaker beliefs.[6]

This study links Quakers' political experiences in the first half of the eighteenth century with their involvement in the antislavery movement after 1763 and outlines a rationale for the group's opposition to slavery. The complex decision incorporated concerns over religious identity with the desire to destroy a clearly unjust practice. In each colony, the decision to adopt an anti-slavery position resulted from a different set of pressures and motivations based upon political experiences. Friends' involvement in the political and social spheres of eighteenth century Maryland and Pennsylvania differed, as did the seventeenth century contexts from which these experiences originated. The idea that the reformation of Quakerism and the decision to reject slavery originated in Pennsylvania, then spread to other parts of colonial America, fails to recognize the differences in colonial situations. Quaker reformation within Maryland reflected the importance of the local context in shaping the development of American religious traditions, and the tensions that emerged between different styles of faith.[7]

## Toleration to Persecution and Back Again

The value Quakers placed upon remembering the experiences of their ancestors, and using this memory as a basis for future group identity, prompts a brief summary of their earlier political experience. Following their arrival in the colony in

the 1650s, Quakers initially thrived under the rule of the Second Lord Baltimore. Created as a refuge for Catholics escaping English persecution, early seventeenth-century Maryland was more religiously tolerant than other early British colonies in North America. Friends were frequently chosen to fill high-ranking positions, in disproportionate numbers compared to their presence in the colony. This amicable situation changed in the mid-1670s as Maryland Friends grew concerned over the swearing of oaths and began to distinguish themselves from their fellow colonists, discouraging marriage with non-Quakers and setting up their own poor funds so that Friends were not dependant upon others. These changes resulted in a sharp decline in the number of Friends holding office and the rising importance of their own meetings.[8]

Changes in practices also affected their involvement in the economic life of the colony. Administering estates and providing testimony in court required oath taking and Friends struggled against discrimination. They determinedly struggled to maintain their testimony against oaths and to reclaim the political and economic rights colonial authorities denied them. Friends petitioned the colonial governor and assembly and appealed to Quakers in England to support their case to the crown. In 1688, despite Lord Baltimore's initial hostility, the group gained an executive dispensation from taking oaths in court cases but lost it the following year when the Glorious Revolution swept Maryland and Protestants gained control of the government. The new royal government required an oath of all those who sat in the assembly and consequently four Quakers lost their seats. Other measures followed, including a poll tax on all colonists to provide for the Anglican Church of Maryland and renewed efforts to have Quakers contribute to the colonial militia.[9]

Quakers firmly resisted these measures, refusing to pay for the support of the Anglican Church and appealing to their English coreligionists for aid. The campaign resulted in the 1702 Act for the Establishment of Religion in Maryland by which the English law allowing Quakers to make an affirmation, rather than an oath, extended to the colony. In the wake of this act, Maryland Friends enjoyed relative political toleration—the fruit of a prolonged, international struggle. Governor John Seymour still complained about wealthy Quakers' selfishness in not contributing to the defense of the colony, and they remained barred from membership in the assembly. Nevertheless, having experienced two distinct periods of persecution under Catholic proprietorship and Protestant royal control, Quakers could not yet be sure of their future treatment at the hands of colonial authorities and faced an uncertain political future with the restoration of the authority of the now-Protestant Lord Baltimore.[10]

Quakers' concerns, as well as their sense of opportunity with this political shift, are clear in the plea they sent to the new Lord Baltimore for a return to Calvert's milder policies. The West River Yearly Meeting wrote to London Friends on June 8, 1715, expressing their hope that now that proprietary rule had been restored their "Antient Priviledges" of serving in the House of Delegates might also be regained,

and they delivered an appeal to Lord Baltimore expressing these sentiments. Oath taking played an important role in the production and exportation of tobacco. For Quakers to prosper in this and other trades, lawmakers would have to be willing to allow affirmations in a variety of different contexts. Developments within the internal political sphere lay not only upon the emerging political conditions of the eighteenth century, but also upon the collective memory of Quaker experiences in the seventeenth century.[11]

What is immediately clear from the acts the assembly passed is the extent to which Maryland Quakers' interactions with the colonial legislature and executive differed from the experience of Pennsylvania Quakers. Where Pennsylvania Quakers experienced increasing turbulence in their involvement in colonial life over the eighteenth century, Maryland Quakers found themselves increasingly integrated into wider society. Eighteenth-century reforms emanated from efforts by Pennsylvania Quakers to replace their lost political dominance, and they found themselves forced out of past positions of authority by the impositions of the British crown and the efforts of other colonists to secure greater political voice. As a result, they turned away from office holding and engagement with public life, towards a focus upon the internal elements of Quaker faith. Maryland Quakers in the eighteenth century emerged from a past not of political control, but of repression by colonial authorities and hard-won toleration, and their experiences increased acceptance into colonial life. From 1715 to the end of the Seven Years' War, Maryland Quakers participated fully in the election of delegates to the assembly and in a range of other political activities.[12]

This toleration gains even greater significance when compared to experiences of the other major religious minority within Maryland—Roman Catholics. The eighteenth century saw a growing division between tolerable, unthreatening Quakers and dangerous, potentially subversive, Catholics. In the late seventeenth century Quakers and Catholics had together been seen as a threat to the royal government and the established Anglican Church. Reverend Thomas Bray and others argued for increased support for the Anglican Church due to the need "to prevent their [Marylanders] falling into any disorder, which may be very fatal . . . especially because of the great number of Popish Priests and the virulency of the Quakers there."[13]

These concerns of Anglican churchmen for the spiritual security of Marylanders were linked in the minds of colonial rulers with wider issues regarding temporal stability and security. Governor Francis Nicholson, reporting to the Board of Trade in 1697, linked the dominance of Catholics and Quakers in Maryland prior to 1689 with the sorry state of public morale, leading to "Sabbath breaking, cursing, swearing and profane talking . . . whoring and drinking." The next governor, John Seymour, a veteran of the 1702 English offensive against Catholic Spain, saw international insecurities that served to heighten his suspicions about Catholics within Maryland. The passage of the 1704 "Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery" was directly linked

to the spread of Queen Anne's War, itself merely the North American front in the wider War of the Spanish Succession.

Tensions were raised further by reports of the actions of men such as lawyer Thomas Macnemara. Accused of murder, rape, and extortion, Macnemara had been raised as a Catholic. Despite having in theory given up his birth religion to become an attorney, in private he frequently made light of his perjury. The fear generated by such accusations, combined with incidents such as the clash between Governor John Hart and the prominent lay Catholic Charles Carroll, turned the goodwill of the assembly against Catholics. In June 1716 pranksters fired a cannon (part of Annapolis' defenses) and caused a general panic amongst the citizens who believed the Jacobites were invading. In response an oath of allegiance was imposed for all those in "places of trust" within the colony, effectively barring Catholics from taking civil office. The critical difference between the Catholics and Quakers in the eyes of colonial authorities was that whilst both might attempt to steal congregations away from the Anglican Church (and through their tight knit community links open themselves to accusations of plotting), the geopolitical significance of "Papism" excited a real fear of invasion and insurrection. Quakers, on the other hand, did not represent any real threat to the security of the colony. Indeed, the English crown tolerated their practices, accepted affirmation in place of oaths, and viewed the group as an acceptable part of Maryland's political establishment. In 1718, the assembly passed "An act directing the Manner of Electing and Summoning Delegates and Representatives to serve in succeeding Assemblies":

> Such is the restless Spirit of those People [Catholics] that not Content with the favor and Indulgence of the Governmt in winking at the Allowance of their Worship . . . they were Very busy in making Interest and Partys for Votes att the Election of Delegates to serve in Assembly, which being Observed by the Lower House . . . they prepared a bill to disable the Papists & all others (Quakers Excepted) who are otherwise Qualifyed That Should refuse the Oath Appointed by Law from giveing their Votes att the Election for burgesses to Serve in Assembly.[14]

This extract highlights the fears that Catholic forces in Maryland might unite and threaten the security of the colony. The notion that, if tolerated, Catholics would exploit the electoral system to further their own interests presented more than just a risk to the established Anglican Church, it posed a threat to the governance of the colony as a whole. Within this atmosphere of suspicion, there emerged an increasing division between the Catholic and Quaker experience. Six years later the assembly outlined the 1718 exception as it pertained to elections. Attached to this amendment was a note referring to questions on whether the act was intended to make Quakers "exempt thereby from all Questions concerning their Fidelity to the Government,

than by allowing them the Liberty of taking their Affirmation to his Majesty's Government prescribed by Law, instead of the Oaths, as is now used in England."

> That in all Cases where any the good People of this Province are obliged or required to take the Oaths to his Majesty's Government, the Quakers be likewise obliged to take their Affirmation in the like Cases as allowed and prescribed by Law, instead of such Oaths; any Construction of the aforementioned Proviso to the contrary not withstanding.

This amendment confirmed the political toleration Quakers achieved under the restored proprietorship and dismissed any notion that they posed a threat. Catholics, however, remained both in the eyes of Anglican ministers and Maryland's colonial assembly, a threat to the peace and security of the colony. In 1760 the assembly passed an "Act for Naturalization," again displaying an enduring fear of Catholics within the political elite. All persons, apart from Quakers and "foreign Protestants, who conscientiously scruple the taking an Oath" were required to have "received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in some Protestant and Reformed Congregation within this Province" before taking the oath required to be naturalized into the colony.[15]

These references to political toleration mark a time when the overall experience of Maryland Catholics and Quakers diverged radically. Although Catholics had remained a group feared and rejected, Quakers moved from being an isolated dissenting group to an integrated part of Maryland society. This transformation is most clearly shown in the number, and nature, of acts passed during the period 1715 to 1763, highlighting the involvement of Quakers in numerous areas of colonial life. Reference is found in the 1725 act preventing corruption within Maryland's legal community. Despite their desire to solve problems within their own meetings, in situations where disputes involved non-Quakers (for example the murder of Thomas Graham, a Quaker merchant from Pennsylvania, by the aforementioned Thomas Macnemara) engagement with the judicial system of the colony was unavoidable. The 1725 act allowed the acceptance of Quaker affirmations in place of oaths in cases where persons sought to "prosecute or implead any Person or Persons whatsoever, in any Action or Actions, or to defend him, her or themselves, from any Action or other Process whatsoever," effectively reaffirming the full availability of civic colonial law to Quakers. This not only afforded Maryland Friends the support of state authority in extreme circumstances such as murder, but also offered them greater securities in their wider dealings with non-Quakers. Acts against the concealing of "convicted Felons . . . imported into this Province" in 1723, and for the "Advancement of Justice" in 1752 indicate the group's acceptance and integration within colonial society, engaging with official institutions as enforcers of peace and stability.[16]

The extent to which Quakers moved into wider society is further displayed in the numerous acts concerning that most important of crops within the colonial

Chesapeake—tobacco. The inclusion of their right to make affirmations within the 1732 act for "Improving the Staple of Tobacco . . . and to prevent cropping, cutting, and defacing Tobacco taken on board Ships or Vessel" placed Quaker tobacco producers and merchants at the center of the colony's economic life. Political toleration brought real material benefits, and many took new opportunities to amass considerable wealth through tobacco and other trades. Samuel Galloway, a leading Quaker from Anne Arundel County, was a highly important figure within the tobacco merchant community of Maryland's Western Shore, putting the international links between different communities to commercial use in sending his crop to the London house of fellow Quaker, Sylvanus Grove. To the south, Calvert County's Kensey Johns used family connections to build up a small merchant network and link members of his community to the colony's economic elite.[17]

Some Catholics carved out successful trades, regardless of political disadvantages. Richard Bennett (1667–1749) had a wide range of Protestant contacts and trading links within the colony. Bennett's case, however, highlights other important areas where Quakers and Catholics differed in their integration into colonial life. Where Bennett joined in the drunken revels of his Protestant friends at the Talbot County courthouse, Quakers avoided such activity. Although they did achieve political toleration and economic integration, Quakers remained apart from colonial society in a number of important respects.

Whilst more distant from their fellow Marylanders in many of their customs, as a collective they became more integrated. Crucial here was the attitude within contemporary Britain towards the two groups. Whilst British Catholics continued to be treated with suspicion by government authorities, Quakers and other dissenting Protestant groups found far broader acceptance into British society.[18]

Colonial authorities accepted Quaker customs and beliefs as essentially harmless and their integration into wider society is perhaps most clearly illustrated in relation to the colonial militia. Quakers' fundamental opposition to war and conflict was made plain in a minute in the Talbot County Monthly meeting in 1706 that advised Friends to remain faithful to "The Testimony of truth in relation to training" and counseled against their "lending any servants." In 1710 Maryland's Upper House stated that as Quakers "scruple bearing Armes in person her Majesty thinks fitt that they should be compelled to hire or otherwise Supply Such men who may be Capable and fitt to do their duty" or have severe penalties laid against them.[19]

By the 1740s the attitude of the colonial authorities had softened. Quakers continued to pay a contribution to the militia for their refusal to join musters, however the practice had become an accepted arrangement. Colonial authorities approached the Quaker community directly to enquire about persons who protested their faith as justification for refusing to bear arms. In 1740, Henry Wood "who at our meetings for worship has generally appeared for some time as a person willing to joyn him self with us" asked for a written statement to give to militia

officers to certify his religious objection. The group appointed a committee to enquire into his life and to determine worthiness and two months later granted the certificate. Such events occurred a number of times across the period 1715 to 1763, among them efforts to compel Quakers to participate in colonial defense before 1715, developed a grudging acceptance of their beliefs under the restoration. The 1756 "Act for regulating the Militia of the Province of Maryland" described the colony as in a "Time of Immiment Danger." Even so, the act included a stipulation that nothing should "oblige or Compell any of the People Called Quakers . . . who from Religious or Conscientious Scruples are averse to the Bearing of Arms and Performing Military Service to Inlist or do Duty." This again highlights the acceptance of Quakers within colonial society. However, this was a specific toleration towards what was seen as a harmless group. The same act dictated that "all Arms Gunpowder and Ammunition of what kind soever any Papist or reputed Papist within this Province hath or shall have . . . shall be taken from . . . [them] by Warrant under the hand of one Justice of the Peace for the County." This again shows the crucial difference between Quakers, a group separated from the majority in many aspects of their life but increasingly accepted within the laws of the colony, and Catholics, who were far closer in their traditions and belief of the majority, but were seen as a threat to the peace security of the colony.[20]

## Members of Respectable Society

In two important areas the political toleration extended under the restored proprietorship led to surprising consequences for Friends' relations with non-Quakers in Maryland. First is the case of their relations with the established Anglican Church. Whilst taxation to support the state church represented a continuing discrimination, Maryland Friends displayed a willingness to accept this mild imposition, compared to the wider political toleration achieved. The 1702 Act for the Establishment of Religion in Maryland, whilst extending Quakers' opportunities for political involvement and economic integration, left one major seventeenth-century imposition in place, the requirement to pay a toll to provide for the maintenance of the Anglican clergy within the colony. This tax, of 40 lbs. of tobacco per person, applied to Maryland colonists of all denominations. A letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1698 expressed the Anglican rational for this general taxation. If dissenters were not taxed then "there would not be left a tolerable subsistence for a Clergy man and his horse." However, the letter continued, it was particularly necessary to tax Quakers specifically. "Could the Quakers clear themselves of the £40 per poll, the Papists might all pretend to do so." Just as Maryland's late seventeenth-century political leaders saw Catholics as a major threat, religious leaders saw Papists as their chief adversary, another element of a general threat to the Anglican Church. They noted towards the end of their letter that "as far removed as the Quakers & papists seem to be in their Different sentiment abt Religion; they are joyntly bent agt our Church."[21]

The toll reflected seventeenth century concerns, yet the idea of Quakerism as a dangerous competing force to the Anglican Church endured into the eighteenth century, even as the group gained political toleration. In 1755, the Freeholders and Freemen of Frederick County presented a petition to the assembly for the redrawing of parish boundaries to better distribute the available resources. Whilst we must be mindful of the possibility that the parishioners of All Saints exaggerated their situation to obtain a more speedy response, the details they included in the petition suggest that within the community there was still a strong fear of dissenters stealing away loyal congregations. The petition notes that "numbers" of Parishioners "(who otherways being well-wishers to the Orthodox reformed Religion of the Church of England) have . . . joyn[ed] themselves in worship with others Sectaries, as Quakers &c." Anglican leaders also continued to worry over the provision of their ministers' stipends. In 1728, the assembly passed an act reducing the fees of Episcopal clergy to 30 lbs. of tobacco per poll, a measure that provoked an outcry from the Anglican Church, whose leaders sent a petition to the Bishop of London imploring that the 40 lbs. poll be restored. A year later, Reverend Jacob Henderson was dispatched to England to strengthen their pleas, leading King George II to veto the act.[22]

At the heart of Anglican leaders' fears concerning the support of priests and the temptations of dissenting groups lay the declining state of Maryland's established church. As a Catholic attempting to present the suffering of his fellow worshippers in its darkest possible light, William T. Russell's study of Catholic sufferings doubtless exaggerates the reality in suggesting that the majority of "parsons . . . were drunkards, adulterers and suspected murderers." However, it is telling that Reverend Thomas Bacon, transcriber of many of colonial assembly records, felt compelled to write in 1750 that "some of them [clergy of the established Church] have got beyond the consideration even of common decency, [so that] vice and immorality as well as infidelity must make large advance." Bacon cites the cause of this immorality as the lack of "Ecclesiastical Government [within Maryland], where every clergyman may do what is right in his own eyes." The fact that effective responsibility for the conduct of priests lay with the Bishop of London meant that the Maryland assembly had little control over Anglican ministers' immoral activity. That Quakers were not only required to pay to support the Anglican Church, but that the ministers whose livings they provided were so far from the ideals of purity, is evidence that political toleration did not completely remove the sufferings of eighteenth-century Maryland Friends.[23]

Significantly, Maryland Friends did not protest against this injustice to the degree with which they had earlier fought. Seventeenth-century Quakers had frequently written to Friends in London for support in their struggles against the oppressions of political leaders, getting them to petition the king on their behalf. In 1727, the London Yearly Meeting charged Joseph Besse with producing a collection of the sufferings and imprisonments of Friends from their beginnings in the 1650s until

the Glorious Revolution in 1689 and the toleration within Britain of Protestant dissenters. Published in 1753, the group sent copies to meetings throughout England and the American colonies. Maryland Quakers' early sufferings were included, but by ending in 1689 Besse concludes his work with Maryland Friends tolerated by the Proprietorship, in a good position within the colony. Besse's intention was to show future generations the struggles their ancestors had undergone in order to inspire them to be equally pious. Yet contemporary Marylanders reading Besse's work would have been very aware that 1689 did not mark the end of their discrimination. In London, Quaker leaders throughout the eighteenth century were eager to highlight the continuing plight of Friends to inspire their fellows elsewhere. However, whilst Quakers had opposed the establishment of the Anglican Church in Maryland in the 1702 Act, by 1715 the political toleration extended to Friends in that same act meant that much of their past suffering had ceased. For example, in 1704 Quakers reported that they lived "Pretty Easie under their Government—except upon the act of 40lb per Pole for the Priests wages [when] wee cannot pay, soe they make distress upon our goods." In 1716, again they reported that "our only sufferings are for Priests Maintenance and Building and Repairing Worship Houses."[24]

Quaker leaders within Maryland certainly did not rejoice at the relative lightness of colonial impositions. Rather, meeting minutes are punctuated by reminders to Friends to continue reporting their oppression under the established Church. In 1723, Talbot County Quakers were advised "to be Carefull to Keep up their Testimony against the Antichristian Yoak of Priest hier." By 1763, they "sorrowfully observing a Deficiency on account of maintaining our testimony against the payment of Priests wages" advised Quakers to "tenderly to treat with some as are Deficient, in order to Excite them to more faithfulness in that respect." Not only were Maryland Quakers failing to report their sufferings to Friends in England; they were also divided over whether or not they should willingly pay the poll in support of Anglican ministers or not. The following year, Quakers on the Eastern Shore were "informed that some persons heretofore appointed as overseers in some of our Meetings are in the practice of paying the Priests." The monthly meeting advised all future meetings to avoid appointing overseers "whose hands are not clean in that respect." Maryland Quakers had maintained an active testimony concerning their hardships in the seventeenth century. However, after 1715 they became far less involved in sharing their experiences with the wider Quaker community. With the political toleration Maryland Quakers had won, they moved from a persecuted minority group and entered more fully into colonial economic and social life.[25]

The second area in which political toleration after 1715 led to surprising developments was in Friends' relations with those at the bottom of Maryland's social and political hierarchy. As they became more integrated into the eighteenth-century social and economic elite, so their relationship with underclass non-Quakers appeared increasingly based not on efforts to convert people, but preserving the exist-

ing social order. In 1725, Maryland's General Assembly passed "An Act to prevent several Irregularities complained of by the People called Quakers." The concept of colonial authorities stepping in to protect a group in the past accused of being in league with rebels such as Richard Clarke, and held to account for their "insolent behavior" in court proceedings, crucially highlights the extent to which the position of Quakers within Maryland society had changed. This act against "Irregularities" was reaffirmed and altered to face new threats the Quaker community perceived. In these acts, Quakers continued a tradition established during the seventeenth century struggles over the taking of oaths, fighting to remove obstacles to their free worship and exercise of religious practices. These protests differed in that Friends directed their efforts against the actions of under class colonists. In the period after 1715 when confronted with problems caused by non-Quakers, rather than simply enduring suffering, they turned to secular colonial authorities for support. This series of acts highlights Friends' willingness to appeal to the established social order, represented in colonial authorities, against those who caused them distress.[26]

The main appeal of Quakers in the first 1725 Act was against "sundry Persons [who] set up Booths, and sell Drinks and other Things" close to Quakers' Yearly Meetings. As a result, meetings were being "converted into Places of Traffic, Debauchery and Immorality, to their very great Disturbance in the Exercise of their Religion." In reacting to this plea, the assembly sought to prevent colonists seizing upon gatherings of religious groups as occasions to get drunk and cause disturbance, and reveals a number of deeper social motivations and aims. The 1725 act forbid the erecting of "Booths" or otherwise selling of drink, within one mile of the Yearly Meeting house in Talbot County, or within two miles of the meeting house in Anne Arundel County whilst the Yearly Meeting was taking place. Offenders were required to pay the sum of ten pounds to the "Right Honorable the Lord Proprietary." Furthermore, if a complaint was made to a justice of the peace they were required to issue a warrant, have the offender brought before them and on the oath (or affirmation) of one witness, "commit the said Offender to Prison, until he shall remove such Booth, Liquor, or other Things." Quaker Yearly Meetings had since the seventeenth century been occasions not only for religious meetings, but also for both Quakers and non-Quakers to meet and trade with one another. Samuel Bownas, visiting Maryland in 1727, commented that

> The Yearly Meeting in Maryland is held four days, three for worship and one for business. Many people resort to it and transact a deal of trade one with another, so that it is a kind of market or change, where captains of ships or planters meet and settle their affairs; and this draws abundance or people of the best rank to it![27]

Quaker Yearly Meetings functioned as more than religious meetings or simply

gatherings of internal political leaders. The importance of connections within the community to the economic success of many Maryland Friends made meetings a crucial opportunity for merchants and planters to interact and do business with one another. As a result of the wealth of many leading Friends, Yearly Meetings became important as focal points for the wider colony's social elite to gather. Rhys Isaac points to the importance of regular gatherings of wealthy colonists, and the buildings within which these gatherings took place, as symbols of social authority within colonial America. Courthouses and churches were crucial structures, both physically and institutionally, in the maintenance of the colonial order. The Yearly Meetings of Maryland's Society of Friends can certainly be added to these symbols of authority. Quakers welcomed their integration into elite colonial society, but from the start this was integration based upon wealth and status—not belief. Maryland's justices were not engaged in the 1725 act to defend the rights of religious minorities to worship in peace. Rather, those wealthy Quakers who called for support appealed to colonial authorities to help maintain the wider social order against popular elements that challenged their control. As Quaker meetings became focal points for political and social authority, they also became a key arena for social defiance within Maryland society.[28]

Expansions to this act make it clear that Yearly Meetings became a critical site for counter-assertions by the poor and underclass elements of Maryland society. The 1747 alteration included preventing the "Running of Horse-Races near the Yearly Meetings of the People called Quakers; and . . . the tumultuous Concourse of Negroes, and other Slaves, during the said Meetings." Quakers petitioned the assembly that they, "as well as those of other Persuasions who resort to their Yearly Meetings," despite the 1725 act suffered even more from disruptions by lower elements of society. "Great Concourse[s] of idle and profligate White People, and great Crowds of Negroes" gathered at Yearly Meetings, "drinking to Excess, and behaving in riotous and turbulent Manner." Popular elements used the opportunity of Friends meetings to gather not in defiance of Quakers' religious views, but rather of the social symbol that their meetings represented. The 1747 act focused on Quakers as an element of established colonial society under threat. The counter-assertions of popular elements against colonial elites are highlighted in references to the running of horse races. During Governor Samuel Ogle's second administration (1746–1752), horse racing became a gentleman's sport and gained importance as part of the social structures that helped maintain the power of reigning colonial elites. The fact that at Quaker Yearly Meetings common people gathered to run races was a clear gesture of defiance against colonial authority.[29]

Maryland's leaders issued a firm response and ordered the constables of the Hundreds in Talbot and Anne Arundel Counties, upon being informed of large gatherings of "Negroes or other Slaves . . . in a tumultuous and disorderly Manner," to immediately proceed to the Yearly Meeting and provide assistance. Slaves

were required to return home immediately. If they refused, delayed, or "shall behave impudently or turbulently" constables had the authority to seize offenders and give them "due Correction, by Whipping on the bare Back with any Number of Stripes not exceeding Thirty-nine." Anyone running horse races "on any Pretence whatsoever" within five miles of the meeting houses during the Yearly Meetings would also be seized and taken, whilst anyone taking or placing bets, or riding one of the horses paid a fine.[30]

In this series of acts the General Assembly sought to defend the authority of colonial elites against the continuing threat from lower classes asserting their identity in defiance of their social superiors. In relation to the objectives of this study, these acts affirm the extent to which Quakers within Maryland were now seen as part of the colonial establishment. Not only did they engage with laws concerning the sale of tobacco, designed to stop poor, small-scale farmers from reducing larger landowner's profits, they also supported the assertion of colonial authority in a much wider sense. This stance reflected a reversal of the Quaker position in the seventeenth century when the group had been amongst the persecuted. James Marietta's study of Pennsylvania Quakerism suggests that in response to their increasing detachment from colonial authority, Friends turned towards inward reform and renewal. In Maryland, however, the eighteenth century marked a period of increasing engagement with colonial authorities. The group had no need for a reformation to redefine themselves in the wake of a sudden loss of political involvement. Rather, through their increasing interaction with the political elite, they experienced a period of spreading toleration, respect for their values, and integration into the economic life of the colony. Although this improving situation seemed the fulfillment of past Quaker struggles for acceptance by colonial authorities it also became a prime motivation for them to break from their institutionalized position and place themselves back on the edge of colonial society.[31]

## Falling Prey to Worldly Temptations

In 1754, Catherine Phillips, an English travelling Quaker, commented on the state of Maryland's Friends:

> The professors of Truth in this settlement are principally of the offspring of faithful ancestors; but divers of them have taken their flight on the wings of vanity and earthly riches, and slighted the truly valuable eternal inheritance; and, I fear, some even despise that precious faith which was once delivered to the saints.[32]

Phillips' reflections highlight a decay many travelling Friends saw developing within Maryland's Quaker community, singling it out in particular from other colonies. Crucial to this perceived decay, as Phillips notes, was the generational shift

within Maryland Quaker populations. Those who remembered Quakers' struggles against colonial oppression at the end of the seventeenth century were dying out and a new generation emerging who had grown up in a colony largely tolerant of their beliefs and practices. Young people often saw in their parents a wealth that seemed strikingly at odds with their continuing refusal to embrace all aspects of colonial life. The developing position of Quakers within Maryland seemed increasingly divergent from collective memories of Friends struggling against oppression, so critical to the formation of Quaker identity. Having been united in the past century by their joint suffering under an oppressive rule, Quakerism in the eighteenth century seemed to be splintering apart. This concept forms a crucial theme throughout the journals and writing of travelling Quakers from England and other American colonies, such as Edmund Peckover and John Churchman. Evidence from within Maryland Quakers' own meetings suggests internal leaders too were concerned about a community experiencing increasing cases of disunity due to the temptations of a colonial society now much more accommodating of Quaker beliefs. At the core of Quaker life in Maryland was a desire for unity through a shared religious identity. This identity had been forged not only through a shared mission to proclaim the truth, but also through struggles with those who would prevent them doing so. The impact of external political toleration from colonial authorities not only integrated Friends into the wider life of the colony but weakened the internal bonds that defined Maryland Quakerism.[33]

One of the critical ways they found their unity disrupted was through younger Quakers' rejections of the beliefs and practices of their parents. Meeting records throughout the first half of the eighteenth century contain numerous references to those who broke from the society's strict marriage codes. Believing that God alone made marriages, Quakers refused to accept the legitimacy of ceremonies carried out by Anglican ministers or justices of the peace. Committees of Friends were set up to investigate the condition of couples who decided to get married and report on the wedding ceremony itself. However, from 1715 onwards, numerous young Quakers chose to break from these traditions. In 1722, Susanah Slaughter's meeting reprimanded her for marrying before a Pennsylvania justice. Importantly, in most of the cases brought to light in such minutes, the motivations behind young people breaking away do not appear to have been based upon financial concerns. In his work concerning Quakerism and the American family in Delaware, Barry Levy suggests a crucial element in young Friends rejecting Quakers' traditional practices was economic pressure and points to an inability to pay dowries as the reason poorer members married outside of the community. However, in Maryland many of those who broke from unity were the children of wealthy families. Young Quakers chose to abandon their faith out of a desire to escape community oversight and to embrace more fully the opportunities that Maryland society offered.[34]

Such desires deeply troubled the community's leaders. In 1753, Friends in Talbot

County expressed their "Concern to Revive their antient Testimony against Disorderly marriages wherein several of our young Friends have gone." The problem ran deep within Maryland Quakerism. In 1762, the Third Haven meeting again attempted to enforce conformity, stating that "if any member should for the future be married by a Priest, that they should be disowned from being in Unity with Friends." Later that year a committee of Eastern Shore Friends investigated the "too easily accepting of papers of Acknowledgement from, such offenders [who had married outside of the Quaker community]." In future, the committee urged, those who "joyn themselves in Marriages by a Priest" ought to be swiftly "testified against." Twenty-one "papers of Acknowledgement" were recorded in Talbot County between 1754 and 1762, declaring Quaker meetings' acceptance of marriages despite their nature. The practice of Quakers who had strayed from the dictates of their meeting sending letters expressing their sorrow at their actions (and frequently their ignorance of broken rules) was well established. In 1723, Edward Clark Jr. approached his meeting with "a paper . . . Declaring his ignorance in Truths affairs of Marriage and his sorrow for the Breach of the Good order of truth after having been married by a Justice." Quaker elders feared for their ability to control the actions of younger members and to maintain the unity of the Society of Friends within Maryland.[35]

The reports of travelling Quakers throughout the period 1715–1763 frequently suggest causes for this spiritual decay. John Churchman, attending the Maryland Yearly Meeting in 1735 "grieved at the conduct of some of the elders, whose age, if they had kept to the Truth and had been zealous for the honour thereof, would have made them better examples; I spoke my mind plainly to them, but not without proper caution (as I thought) both with respect to my youth and their age." Churchman believed that through their integration into wider society, Quakers in Maryland were straying from the strong position of faith they had held in the seventeenth century. In contrast, whilst travelling through New Jersey, he encountered a number of "large and satisfactory" meetings. However, here also Churchman noted the word of John Fothergill, "children possessed the temporal estates of their fathers, and though their outward habitations looked spacious their meetings for worship were dull and heavy, by reason of a wordly spirit, and their indifference about heavenly treasure."[36]

This concern of "heavenly treasures" abandoned in favor of earthly delights is echoed in the journal of Edmund Peckover, another English Friend. Travelling through Maryland in 1742, he was disappointed at the "spiritual decline" he saw around him. He noted with great sadness the deaths of many worthy Friends in the Choptank region. "Many of their offspring come very far short of them . . . [as] gaudy and fine in their apparel as any who go under our name either at London or Bristol!" Clothing was a crucial element of the religious identity, and plainness of dress signified the group's rejection of worldly glories. That young Quakers in Maryland adopted more extravagant apparel signaled their growing integration into colonial society. The practice deeply worried those who commented on Quaker life

and believed that toleration negatively impacted religious and political identity. Travelers did note differences between Friends in different regions of Maryland. Upon Churchman's return to Maryland in 1759, he described the Yearly Meeting at West River as "in the main the most open and satisfactory meeting I was ever at in that place." However, at Monocacy he declared "truth is at a low ebb" whilst at a new meeting at Indian Spring "some of [them] I fear, scarcely know what they profess." The collective view of those traveling Quakers who visited Maryland during the period 1715 to 1763 was of a community in decline. Political toleration and economic integration had led many older Quakers to stray from the firm positions of faith they had exhibited under the discrimination of the late seventeenth century. In turn, their children increasingly saw little reason to maintain self-imposed restrictions on their activity.[37]

Traveling Friends' concerns over the state of Maryland Quakerism are borne out in several key case studies that serve to illustrate the real impact of political toleration upon the unity and discipline of the Quaker community. One such case relates to the life of one of the most prominent figures within eighteenth-century Maryland—William Paca, signatory to the Declaration of Independence. William, his brother Aquila, and their father John were important figures in colonial Maryland. Episcopalians, John Paca served as a vestryman in Harford County. However, John's father had been a leading and very wealthy Maryland Quaker. Born and married inside the Anglican Church, within ten years of his marriage Aquila Paca Sr. became a committed Quaker. High Sheriff of Baltimore and later a member of the lower house of the Maryland Assembly, in 1714 Aquila chose to resign from public office over a "matter of Conscience," believing he could no longer be involved with administering oaths. Upon his death in 1721, Aquila left a large bequest of some five thousand acres to his wife and three sons and directed that his children be brought up within the Quaker faith. Aquila Sr. clearly feared his children might stray from the faith he had attached himself to with such devotion. If his widow should remarry a non-Quaker, he directed that two Friends take the children and their portion of his estates, and raise them in the Quaker faith. Twenty-one years old, however, John had already broken from the Friends, marrying Elizabeth Smith in St. John's Parish Church. Although the couple named their first son Aquila after his grandfather, they never returned to the faith he had held so dear. Paca's grandsons rose to prominence in colonial politics. Friends who witnessed their temporal success undoubtedly felt concern for their community. Such cases engendered a fear that toleration had eroded the fundamentals of their religious identity. Even if elder Quakers remained steadfast in their faith, increasing numbers of their children strayed.[38]

A second case from the period highlights the continuing fragmentation of the Quaker community throughout the eighteenth century and hints at a possible solution. Descendants of Talbot County Friends, three of the Berry children remained dutiful Quakers throughout childhood and into their adult lives. However, the life of

the fourth brother, James (born in 1729) highlights many of the aspects of disunity within the community. In his early twenties James chose to turn away from Quakerism, rejecting the refusal to take oaths and abandoning traditional plain clothes in favor of finer, more colorful garments. The meeting testified against him and subsequently expelled him in 1755. In 1758, he eloped with Elizabeth Powell, daughter of wealthy Quaker Daniel Powell. An Anglican priest performed the ceremony. Now an integrated part of Maryland society, younger Quakers saw parents lessening their hold on a valued faith and unnecessarily limiting themselves. Friends' involvement in producing tobacco fortunes through the use of imported slaves made limitations such as dressing in plain clothes or refusing oaths seem hollow gestures. James Berry's story does not end with his expulsion. In 1761 he and Elizabeth returned to Quaker meetings. The couple publicly condemned their earlier actions and the meeting accepted them back into unity.[39]

After his return, James became heavily involved in an effort that he and other Quakers hoped would restore the society's lost unity and damaged religious identity. He and his surviving brothers Benjamin and Joseph were among the first Quakers in Maryland to struggle against an institution that up until the 1760s they had been deeply involved in—the enslavement of black Africans. In the years after 1763, the Berry brothers worked to free their own slaves and within wider Quaker meetings to persuade others of its evils. The struggle created a clear divide between "true" Friends who rejected slavery and those who through their continuing buying and selling of human property were thrown out of unity.

However, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that slavery as an "ungodly practice" was the sole motivation. Opposition to slavery would reestablish Quakerism as separate from the rest of Maryland society. As the Paca and Berry cases show, the group had good reason to fear the effects of toleration in tempting people away from the true path. Finding a new source of repression to battle against, in order to renew the spiritual life and internal unity of the community, was a major factor in the decision of Maryland Quakers to oppose slavery.[40]

## Redemption in Supporting the Outcast

Much writing concerning American Quakers' involvement with slavery in the eighteenth century has focused upon their role as abolitionists. However, it is crucial to recognize this as the result of Quakers deciding to abandon their past acceptance and involvement with slavery, rather than a position adopted from its inception. The contradiction of a people who believed in the equality of men involving themselves in the trade of slaves was not lost on early Quaker commentators such as John Woolman whose experiences during his travels through Maryland and southern colonies in 1746 spurred him to write his famous tracts opposing slavery.[41]

Maryland's wealth came principally from tobacco and slave labor made the enterprise viable, forcing Quaker settlers who sought to carve out a living to par-

ticipate in the trade. By the start of the eighteenth century, Thomas Drake noted that slavery was "already deeply woven into the pattern of American Quaker Life." Instead of ignoring slavery, Quakers became active participants. Even the radical Wenlock Christison, banished from Massachusetts on pain of death in 1660 and an ardent campaigner against Maryland Quakers' persecutions, is known to have been involved in slave trading. Quaker planters attending Maryland's Yearly Meeting left to go directly aboard ships to buy fresh slaves. Some within the wider community believed that members forced through economic necessity to use slave labor should, per the tenets of the faith, treat them decently. In 1657, two years after the first Quakers arrived in British North America, George Fox wrote a letter "To Friends Beyond Sea, that Have Blacks and Indian Slaves." He reaffirmed the equality of all peoples before God, urging Quakers "to have the mind of Christ, and to be merciful, as your heavenly father is merciful," though he stopped short of condemning slavery outright. Some Quakers did respond to this message. In 1684, William Dixon (who had married Christison's widow) approached the Third Haven Meeting, declaring that he intended "to sell a negro his freedom [and] desires ye meetings advice." In his will, Dixon not only emancipated several slaves, but he left them land and money to build a house. However, such charity was unusual. In general, Quakers in seventeenth and early eighteenth century Maryland saw no problem with their ownership of slaves. The importance of outlining the situation prior to 1715 is to highlight the extent to which Quakers were already involved in the slave trade. The combination of this existing acceptance of slave labor with the widening integration of Quakers into Maryland society brought great wealth to Friends such as Samuel Galloway. An examination of fifty wills made by Eastern Shore Quakers from 1669 to 1750 reveals that 42 percent owned slaves. Jean R. Soderlund argues that until the mid-eighteenth century, the attitudes towards African slaves of most Quakers were broadly the same as those of other colonists. Either they owned slaves and saw nothing wrong with this as long as they looked after them, or they did not own slaves and cared little about the issue.[42]

It is clear, however, that even in the more heavily slave-dependent southern colonies, the first half of the eighteenth century also saw the emergence of concerns over slave ownership. In 1722, the Virginia Yearly Meeting issued a query asking, "Are all Friends clear of being concerned in the importation of slaves or purchasing them for sale, do they use those well they are possessed of, and do they endeavor to restrain from Vice, and to instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion?" This was in contrast to the attitude of seventeenth-century Virginian Quakers, who in 1672 forbid Friends from bringing their black slaves to religious meetings. In 1740 the Virginia Yearly Meeting decided that Quakers should no longer serve on the patrols which roamed the colony at night to prevent slaves moving around. In contrast, Maryland Quakers' main concern in the first half of the eighteenth century was the threat of black slaves disrupting their Yearly Meetings. It was not until 1759

that a query appeared in the Maryland Yearly Meeting asking, "Are Friends careful of importing or buying of negroes, and doe they use them well they are possessed of by inheritance or otherwise, endeavoring to trane them up in the principles of Christian religion?" Some members of the community could not resist the economic opportunities slavery offered. Their continuing support of slavery certainly did not stem from growing opposition movements within the wider community, spread amongst the American colonies through tracts, pamphlets, and letters, and the visits of travelling Quaker ministers. In 1741, John Bell wrote from England "An epistle to Friends in Maryland, Virginia, Barbadoes and other colonies and islands in the West Indies where any Friends Are," in which he urged Quakers to have "Pity, mercy, and compassion in Christian tenderness" for slaves, and halt the oppression of their "bondslaves and fellow creatures."[43]

Bell, moreover, drew a direct link between these cruelties, which he held as contrary to truth and the gospel of peace, and the decline in American Quakers' faith. The theme of slavery as degrading Quaker communities is picked up in Levy's work as he praised the "triumph of Quaker domesticity" and cited the importance of mixed wheat farming in allowing Delaware Friends to become economically independent, raising families around values of hard work and diligence. In Maryland, involvement in the tobacco trade removed this vital element of domesticity from Quaker family life. Woolman, in his 1757 visit, engaged a militia colonel over the issue of slavery, pointing out the difference between those colonists who used labor "moderately" to provide for their living and trained their children to be frugal, and those who relied upon slave labor. Mary Neale, in 1754, stated she "apprehended [slavery] was in part the cause, of truths not prospering amongst them, as otherwise it would." John Woolman, even more uneasy, expressed deep concern at accepting hospitality from Quaker slaveholders. Slavery damaged the reputation of Maryland Quakers and directly contributed to problems of group identity within the colony. At a time when Friends feared for their children's faith in the face of the temptations of wider colonial society, the fact that wealthy elders supported an institution increasingly at odds with the basis tenets of Quaker belief harmed unity. In addition to the problem of Quaker parents failing to instill in their children a sense of the importance of their own labor, slavery also appeared an increasingly hypocritical part of many Quakers' lives.[44]

A clash developed at the heart of Maryland Quaker society between earthly gain and a desire to reclaim lost religious identity. On one side were those who saw the deep-rooted institution of slavery as crucial to economic success. Men such as Aquila Paca, who owned forty-two slaves at the time of his death, owed their wealth and position within colonial society to the benefits of slavery. Giving slavery up would result in an unacceptable economic loss. Opposing this view, many others Quakers saw the destructive effects of slavery upon Friends in Maryland, contributing to the loss of many young Friends. They also saw in rejecting slavery a chance to regain the

passion that had been present within Maryland Quakers in the face of their sufferings under past colonial authorities. Pennsylvania Quakers adopted an anti-slavery stance linked to their loss of control over colonial politics. Opposition to slavery offered a means to reassert moral superiority and regain a measure of power and influence. In Maryland, however, they struggled to regain a lost religious identity. Those who sought to rejuvenate Quakerism had to distance themselves from tolerant authority. The increased demand for black slaves during the Seven Years' War increased the visibility of slaves in Pennsylvania and increased Friends' uneasiness. Such an argument cannot be applied to Maryland, where slavery functioned as a major component of the economic and social fabric. Quakers engaged with anti-slavery arguments based upon a tension between economic interests and a desire for spiritual renewal and internal political discipline by once again setting the group apart from wider colonial society.[45]

Positive responses to the call to oppose slavery in the 1760s stemmed from two motivations, altruistic and political.[46] Charismatic figures such as Woolman spread emotional anti-slavery messages, the effect of which should not be underestimated. Lambert Hopkins wrote that Joseph Nichols (a farmer, who underwent a conversion experience and began to preach a version of Christianity close to Quakerism) was

> the first man in these parts who preached against the evils of slaveholding... His testimony in this respect met with some opposition, and even members of the Society of Friends opposed him—but it happened a short time afterwards, two Friends [John Woolman and John Sleeper] came down on foot and publicly preached against the evil of slavery. Friends then received the testimony which they had refused from Joseph, and in a few years it became general among them to free their Negroes.[47]

Hopkins' testimony highlights the opposition that early anti-slavery campaigners met, particularly those who lacked wider support. It also emphasizes the impact that inspiring men could have in convincing Quakers to change their ways. Alongside the altruistic drive of those convinced of the need to destroy the injustices of human bondage, politics motivated support for the campaign. Maryland Friends and travelers believed that taking a firm stance could restore the community's vitality. Such a move would provide young people with worthy examples of pious lives and the focus with which to restore internal discipline. At the same time, by uniting against the injustices of slavery, the group would once again remove themselves from mainstream colonial society and its accompanying evils. Yet pursuit of this objective, whether from altruistic or political motivations, forced the group to confront economic realities. Slave owning had brought prosperity to many who would not willingly give up these gains so lightly.

This struggle is visible in the minutes of the Maryland Yearly Meeting from 1759

to 1762, as is the regional nature of such debates, between areas where slave owning was more economically important, and those regions more willing to see slavery removed. Yearly Meetings alternated between Treadhaven, on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay, and West River, on the western shore. In June 1759, West River adopted a new discipline:

> It is the desire and advise of this Meeting, that none amongst us be concerned in . . . importing Negro Slaves from their own country, or elsewhere, and that all Friends who have any of them do treat them with humanity and in a Christian manner, as much as in them lies, make them acquainted with the principles of the Christian religion, and inculcate morality in them."[48]

Although not an outright ban, the discipline sought to effectively end involvement in slavery. Failure to follow the instruction would result in the Society disowning the offender, a severe step for members of the community. In May 1760, West River repealed the discipline in response to concerns of buying slaves "elsewhere." As a result, "under solid and mature considerations with divers remarks thereon . . . Friends at present are not fully ripe in their judgements to carry the minute further than against being concerned in the importing of Negroes."[49]

This revised minute enabled Quakers to continue buying and selling black slaves and to remain profitably engaged in tobacco production. Modifying the discipline clearly indicated struggles within the community. At the next meeting, in October 1760 (this time held at Treadhaven on the Eastern Shore, a region less heavily dependant upon tobacco as a source of wealth), members reinstated the original 1759 discipline. The response of those who had originally objected to the discipline, recorded in May 1761, suggests that the group grudgingly accepted the minute yet insisted that it be read as advice only—and not an enforceable discipline. The following year reformers finally convinced their fellow Quakers to break their link with the slave trade. The buying or selling of black slaves by any Maryland Friend became a disownable offence "without the consent and approbation of the Monthly Meeting they belong to." This proviso remained, principally to prevent unfortunate and unintended consequences of the discipline such as the breaking up of families. Thus, the community's involvement with slavery ended.[50]

Struggles over the issue of slavery exposed deep divisions within Maryland Quakerism but members accepted the disruption as part of their quest to renew the faith. Providing a new beacon for young people and a new issue over which the internal discipline could be restored took priority in restoring the spiritual identity. After 1763, Friends continued to root out slavery from within their own. In 1767 the meeting passed the "Epistle of Caution and Tender Advice" for "the discouraging of that heretofore prevailing practice of dealing in or detaining in bondage our fellow creatures." Opposing slavery once again provided the community with an object of

suffering which they could use to bind themselves together, in opposition to wider colonial society.[51]

## Conclusion

Studying the political experience of Maryland Quakers crucially expands our understanding of how dissenting religious groups within colonial America were challenged over the course of the eighteenth century, and how they adapted to these challenges. Religious revivalism in the New World manifested itself both in the emergence of established colonial churches that mirrored European state religions, and new evangelical churches that preached a message of spiritual equality. Maryland Quakers' experiences, located at the heart of this growing religious devotion, illustrate the critical choice this dichotomy of faith presented to dissenters. Emerging from repression and discrimination in the seventeenth century, under the restored proprietorship they found themselves a tolerated, integrated group, positioned alongside colonial authorities against disruptive lower classes. The result, in the eyes of travelling Friends and themselves, was not the strengthening of a community freed from persecution but rather the fundamental weakening of their core beliefs and precious group identity. In searching for a means to restore the lost unity of the society in Maryland they turned to slavery. Rejecting the institution would restore spiritual purity and present an opportunity to once again set the group apart from the rest of colonial society and allow them to escape the sufferings of intoleration. Quakers' political experiences in Maryland highlight the extent to which local context shaped religious revivalism.[52]

## NOTES

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1. William Hand Browne et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–1972), 1:246 (hereinafter cited *Arch.Md.*).

2. Governor Blakiston to the Bishop of London, Fulham Papers, 2:160, Lambeth Palace Library, London, UK.

3. Available as digitized original documents and transcribed records, see Edward C. Papenfuse et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, 1990–) (hereafter cited *Arch. Md. Online*).

4. Jack D. Marietta, "Egoism and Altruism in Quaker Abolitionism," *Quaker History*, 82 (1993): 1–22. Those who saw the error of their ways and repented were warmly welcomed back.

5. R. M. Jones, I. Sharpless, and Amelia Gummere, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1911), xiv–xvi, 524. Jones et al. suggest there were only 3,000 Quakers in Maryland by 1780.

6. Kenneth L. Carroll, "Maryland Quakers in the Seventeenth Century," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 47 (1952): 297–313; David Jordan, "'God's Candle' within Government: Quakers and Politics in Early Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 39 (1982): 628–54; Rebecca Larson, *Daughters of Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad, 1700–1775* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 5; Jack D. Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748–1783* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984). Exploring the experiences of Friends in Maryland during the first half of the eighteenth century fills a crucial hole within the current historiography of American Quakerism. Kenneth Carroll and David Jordan have both explored the experiences of Quakers in seventeenth-century Maryland and their accounts largely end prior to 1715, at the point where Maryland Quakers managed to acquire toleration for their principal political grievance against the taking of oaths. A critical weakness in the existing historiography is a tendency to generalize the experiences of Quakers across colonial America. In *Reformation,* Jack Marietta sets out his general picture of the changes, however, his focus lies almost entirely upon the better-known case of Pennsylvania. Aside from the Society of Friends, Maryland lacked any significant numbers of dissenting Protestants. As a result, Maryland Quakers in the eighteenth century increasingly defined themselves against the ruling Anglican community rather than against other more radical religious groups.

7. Thomas Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950); Marietta, *Reformation*, xvi; Frank Lambert, *Inventing the "Great Awakening"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Bonomi highlights the importance of institutionalized religion in enforcing the social and political dominance of colonial elites. Patricia Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society and Politics in Colonial America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). Alongside the revival of more orthodox forms of Christian faith within Anglican and dissenting churches, the "Great Awakening" of the 1740s brought with it an explosion of evangelical Protestantism.

8. Jordan, "God's Candle," 634. Between 1658 and 1678, at least twenty-nine Quakers were appointed as county magistrates; Third Haven Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1676–1700, passim, particularly Fol. 12, microfilm, Maryland State Archives (MSA), Annapolis, Md.

9. Jordan, "God's Candle," 642. This dispensation did not remove the requirement to take oaths in many areas of economic life. *Arch. Md.*, 8:57–58, 13:253, 354, 358, 361, 425–30.

10. *Arch. Md.*, 24:265–73, 25: 210.

11. London Yearly Meeting, Epistles received, 2:183–84, Library of the Religious Society of Friends in Britain, Friends House, London; ibid., Epistles Sent, 1:239–40. This plea was never answered due to the death of Benedict Calvert in April 1715 and the succession of his infant son Charles to the Proprietorship.

12. Marietta, *Reformation*, xii. The Pennsylvania Assembly remained dominated by Quakers until 1756 but faced increasing opposition from royal governors, Penn's non-Quaker descendants, and frontier colonists.

13. J. Graham, "'The Collapse of Equity': Catholic and Quaker Dissenters in Maryland, 1692–1720," *MdHM*, 88 (1993): 6; "Journal of Dr Bray's Visitation," Fulham Papers, 1:141–49.

14. Graham, "The Collapse of Equity," 8; C. Ashley Ellefson, "William Bladen of Annapolis, 1673?–1718: The Most Capable in all Respects or Blockhead Booby," *Arch. Md. Online* (2007); Aubrey C. Land, *Colonial Maryland: A History* (Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1981), 127. Carroll opposed Hart and insisted on the right of Catholics to share provincial government with Protestants; *Arch. Md.*, 75:289.

15. "An Act for explaining a Paragraph of the Supplementary Act to the Act, entitled,

An Act directing the Manner of Electing and Summoning Delegates," *Arch. Md.*, 35:189, 56:217.

16. "An Act to restrain the ill Practices of Attorneys, and to prevent their taking Money-Fees, and ascertaining what Fees shall be allowed to the Practitioners in the Law, who shall attend the Circuit-Courts," *Arch. Md.*, 36:586; Ellefson, "William Bladen," 163; *Arch. Md.*, 36:298, 50:270.

17. *Arch. Md.*, 37:138; Land, *Colonial Maryland*, 160.

18. Beatriz Betancourt Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age: The Catholic Gentry and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1689–1776" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1993).

19. Third Haven Meeting Minutes, 1:228; *Arch. Md.*, 27:52.

20. Third Haven Meeting Minutes, 1:513; *Arch. Md.*, 52:468, 454. Those who concealed weapons or ammunition were liable to be thrown in prison for three months, without bail.

21. *Arch. Md*, 25:210; Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury signed by eight Anglican Ministers, May 1698, Fulham Papers, 2:100.

22. *Arch. Md.*, 52:670, 36:266; "An Act for Improving the Staple of Tobacco," William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library, 2005), 4:262–68, 270.

23. William T. Russell, *Maryland; The Land of Sanctuary* (Baltimore: J. H. Furst, 1908), 467.

24. Joseph Besse, *Sufferings of Early Quakers: New England and Maryland, West Indies and Bermuda* (York: Sessions Book Trust, 2001); London Meeting for Suffering, Epistles Received, 1:413–14, 22:96.

25. Third Haven Meeting Minutes, 1:369; ibid., 2:325, 366–68.

26. *Arch. Md.*, 3:352, 25:212, 35:427–28.

27. Ibid., 35:427–28; Samuel Bownas, *An Account of the Life, Travels, and Christian Experiences in the Work of the Ministry of Samuel Bownas* (London: J. Phillips, 1795), 219.

28. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven*, 5. Bonomi highlights similar instances in Virginia of gentry using Sunday services as "a useful weekly resort to do Business." Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 136.

29. *Arch. Md.*, 75:483; Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, *Maryland: A History, 1632–1974* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1974), 43; Isaac, *Virginia*, 120.

30. *Arch. Md.*, 75:483.

31. Ibid., 37:138.

32. Catharine Phillips, *Memoirs of the Life of Catherine Phillips*, Digital Quaker Collection Electronic Edition (Earlham School of Religion: Digital Quaker Collection, 2003), 103.

33. Jones et al., *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 295. Edmund Peckover was impressed with the state of Quakerism in both Virginia and North Carolina.

34. Third Haven Meeting Minutes, 1:360, 364; Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

35. Third Haven Meeting Minutes, 1:479, 2:306, 329–30; Kenneth L. Carroll, "Talbot County Quakerism in the Colonial Period," *MdHM*, 53 (1958): 355; Third Haven Meeting Minutes, 1:366.

36. John Churchman, *An account of the Gospel labours, and Christian experiences of a faithful minister of Christ, John Churchman* (Philadelphia: Friend's Book Store, 1862), 51, 55.

37. Jones et al., *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 295; Churchman, *Gospel labours*, 251.

38. Hester Dorsey Richardson, *Side-lights on Maryland History: With Sketches of Early*

*Maryland Families* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company, 1913); Edward C. Papenfuse et al., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789*, Vol. 1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979, 1985); Aquila Paca file, Inventories and Accounts, 10: 200–214, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis.

39. Kenneth L. Carroll, "The Berry Brothers of Talbot County, Maryland: Early Antislavery Leaders," *MdHM*, 84 (1989); Third Haven Meeting Minutes, 2:71, 109, 111, 112, 114, 276, 295, 300, 315, 316, 318; Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Women Friends Minutes, 1705–60, 47–49, Maryland State Archives. James later served on various Quaker committees.

40. Phillips, *Memoirs*, 136; Churchman, *Gospel Labours*, 251.

41. John Woolman "Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes," in John Woolman, *The Journal of John Woolman* (Boston: Osgood and Company, 1871).

42. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America*, 5; Samuel A. Harrison, *Wenlock Christison and the Early Friends in Talbot County, Maryland* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1878), *Arch. Md.* 70:xxi; Oswald Tilgham, *History of Talbot County, Maryland 1661–1861* (Baltimore, 1915), 2: 528; Third Haven Meeting Minutes, 1:66; Carroll, "The Berry Brothers," 2; Jean R. Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 4.

43. Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1896), 201; Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America*, 18, 49; *Arch Md.*, 75:483; J. Saurin Norris, *The Early Friends (or Quakers) in Maryland* (Baltimore: John Toy, 1862), 23.

44. Levy, *Quakers and the American Family*, 149; Woolman, *Journal*, 209, 211; Mary Neale, *Some Account of the Life and Religious Exercises of Mary Neale, Formerly Mary Peisley* (Dublin: John Cough, 1795) 92.

45. Gregory Stiverson and Phebe Jacobsen, *William Paca: A Biography* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1976), 30. A large number of slaves for a Baltimore County planter at the time, see Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery*, 9; Gary B. Nash "Slaves and Slaveowners in Colonial Philadelphia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 30 (1973): 253–54.

46. Jerry William Frost, ed., *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery* (Norwood, Pa.: Norwood Editions, 1980).

47. John Comly and Isaac Comly, eds., *Friends Miscellany: Being a Collection of Essays and Fragments, Biographical, Religious, Epistolary, Narratives, Historical Manuscripts*, Vol. 4 (Philadelphia, 1833), 258.

48. Minutes of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, 2:11, MSA, West River, June 2–6, 1759, based upon disciplines passed in London and Philadelphia.

49. Minutes of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, 2:31; West River, May 28, 1760.

50. Minutes of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, 2:40; Treadhaven, October 21, 1760; Baltimore Yearly Meeting, 2:37; West River, May 12, 1761; Baltimore Yearly Meeting, 2:43, West River, June 3, 1762.

51. West River, June 7, 1767, 18–19; Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America*, 33; Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, 202–5.

52. Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism*, xvi; Frank Lambert, Inventing the "Great Awakening" (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999). In seventeenth-century Pennsylvania, Quakers had been at the heart of colonial government. The internal reformations of the eighteenth century, with a renewed focus upon discipline and a rejection of slavery, apparently were reactions to the loss of this political authority. Whilst motivated by different concerns, the sectarian course Maryland Friends pursued after 1763 mirrored that of Quakers in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. By rejecting the institution of slavery, Friends throughout the British North American colonies set themselves apart from the mainstream of colonial life.

# A Scandal in Baltimore: The Trials of the Reverend Lorenzo Dow Huston, 1872–1873

PETER H. CURTIS

On Saturday, February 24, 1872, unusual and potentially sensational stories appeared in both Baltimore daily newspapers, the *Sun* and the *American and Commercial Advertiser*. Under the heading, "A Sad Story," the *American* summarized a number of events that had occurred in the previous weeks. A teacher at Western Female High School had intercepted a note from a sixteen-year-old student, Mary Driscoll, to a young man, agreeing to meet him at "a certain house, the reputation of which will not bear scrutiny." Commonly called "houses of assignation," these places provided convenient locations for unmarried couples to meet privately.

Mary was suspended from school. When her mother, Caroline K. Driscoll, confronted her with the note, the girl confessed that the minister of their church, Reverend Lorenzo Dow Huston, had seduced her two years earlier—at the age of fourteen. Convinced that her daughter told the truth, Caroline was horrified and notified other ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church South of Mary's experience. Several ministers then visited Huston and apprised him of the charges, which he vehemently denied. But by this time, the news had slipped out and thoroughly scandalized the wealthy parishioners of Trinity Church, where Huston then served as minister.

By the time the story showed up in the newspapers, Huston and his family had already left town. Both newspapers ended their stories with the comment that the reverend had an excellent reputation and a large personal following and the Methodist Episcopal Church South would likely initiate a thorough investigation of the charges. In an additional story on the day the news broke, the *American* offered more detail. A separate editorial clearly implied that the paper believed Huston guilty of the charges. "The sad story is burdened with affliction to many sorrow-stricken hearts, and were it not that the criminal deserves to be held up to the scorn of the world it might be suffered to remain in obscurity."[1]

Huston, fifty-two years old in 1872, had a wife and two adult children. Born and raised in Cincinnati, he had studied theology as a young man and had been

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*Mary Driscoll (1856–1931), ca. 1879. Methodist Episcopal minister Lorenzo Dow Huston of Baltimore's Trinity Church seduced several young girls during his tenure in the city's churches, including fourteen-year-old Mary Driscoll in 1870. (Private Collection.)*

admitted to the Kentucky Conference as a Methodist minister. Prior to the Civil War he had served as the editor of the *Christian Advocate*, the newspaper of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, published in Nashville. During the war he had been a strong partisan of the Confederacy. His son, Menefee, had enlisted in the Confederate army and fought in many battles. Lorenzo Huston followed his son throughout the war, serving as an army chaplain. After the war he was transferred to the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, serving as pastor of Winan's Chapel and its successor, St Paul's Church. In 1870 he moved on to Trinity Church.[2]

In March 1872, the Annual Conference of the Baltimore region of the Methodist Episcopal Church South met in Warrenton, Virginia. Samuel Rogers, presiding elder of the East Baltimore District, reported on the rumors and accusations. Huston appeared, proclaimed his innocence, and "demanded that the charges against him should be immediately and thoroughly investigated." After considerable discussion, a committee recommended that an investigation take place to determine if the Reverend Huston should be immediately suspended from his duties and then to report its findings to the next Annual Conference in March 1873. At that time a final and definitive trial would likely be held to determine Huston's future. Six ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church South conducted the initial investigation, which closely resembled a trial.[3]

*Rev. L. D. Huston, from Maria M. Clifton, ed.,* All We Have to Fear is the Lonesome: The Letters of L. D. Huston From Pre–Civil War Days Through his Relocation to the Florida Frontier in 1874 (*s.l., s.n.,* 1993)

## Historical Context

Victorian-era Baltimore witnessed this sensational and unusual event during the period that New York's Anthony Comstock led an anti-vice crusade that became a national phenomenon. Fear of the effects on American society of urbanization, industrialization, and immigration drove efforts to suppress abortion, pornography, and free love. Moralists expressed profound concern about "the problem of controlling the sexuality of adolescents and what this problem implied about the state of the family." The anti-vice crusade and the various vague and general federal and state laws purportedly suppressed abortion, but in practice they prevented any serious public discussion of sexual topics. Articles concerning sexual matters rarely appeared in newspapers or reputable publications in the latter part of the nineteenth century.[4]

Because Caroline Driscoll notified church rather than civil authorities, the trial took place in an ecclesiastical setting, not a court of law. Why she chose that avenue is unclear, but several possible reasons can be considered. In 1870 the age of consent in Maryland was ten years old. That archaic standard, shared with many other states, dated to English Common Law and the eighteenth-century rural, agricultural society it governed, where early marriages were common and fathers assumed tight control of single adolescents. The practical effect of this statute in the Driscoll case was that it eliminated a charge of statutory rape in civil court because seduction rather than rape was alleged. Also, there can be little doubt that Mrs. Driscoll believed that her church, an institution in which she and her family had been active for many years,

had betrayed her. An ecclesiastical trial would give her church a chance to redeem itself. Finally, it is possible that she hoped a religious setting would result in a less intrusive investigation of the matter and thus less publicity.[5]

If Mrs. Driscoll did indeed hope for reduced public attention, that outcome was soon dashed. Despite the fact that the ecclesiastical trial did not begin until May 21, three months after the initial brief newspaper reports, both of Baltimore's major papers reflected the intense public interest in the case by printing daily reports on the court proceedings. Covering the proceedings proved challenging, since reporters were barred from the courtroom and had to depend on interviewing persons who were allowed to attend the sessions. Most of those attending sided with either Reverend Huston or his accusers and hence provided biased information. Consequently, the accuracy of the newspaper reports is questionable. After the trial, however, the Baltimore firm of Fisher and Denison published a sixty-four page pamphlet, *Trial of the Rev. L. D. Huston, D.D.*, in which the longest item is a detailed, day-by-day transcript of the proceedings.[6] Although the compilers created the document as part of the ecclesiastical leadership's responsibility to investigate the case for the upcoming 1873 annual conference of the church, how it came to be published in advance of that gathering was never explained. Regardless, it appears to provide a reliable record of the proceedings.

Huston stood formally accused of seducing two young girls, members of his congregation in Baltimore in 1870, as well as having been "seen in the act of criminal intimacy with a negro woman" in Atlanta in 1865.[7] The court immediately dropped the latter charge, since time and distance precluded pursuing it, then turned its full attention on the reverend's more recent dalliances. In addition to the fourteen-year-old schoolgirl, Mary Driscoll, Huston was charged with seducing fifteen-year-old Virginia Hopkins, who came from a background far different from Mary Driscoll's. Whereas Mary was a child of the middle class, Virginia Hopkins was clearly poor, a live-in housemaid for a well-to-do family who belonged to Huston's church. Virginia was also an orphan; the only local relatives mentioned during the trial were a stepmother and stepfather.

## Testimony

The investigation first turned to Hopkins's experience. She testified that she met Huston through the family for whom she worked and described her "ruin" as having been rapidly accomplished. In June 1870, Huston asked her to bring her employer's baby to his home. She did so, and in the course of her visit the minister made what today would be called inappropriate comments and suggestions about sexual relations. In Hopkins's words, ". . . he talked about girls going with men, and he said that a great many of them were green, and often got girls into trouble. But he had studied all such books, and knew all about such matters, and I could go with him, and no one, not even if I married, my husband could not tell it."[8] A few days later on

the street she encountered his long-time African American maid, Lucy Adams, who asked Virginia to come over to the Huston home that evening to visit her. However, when Virginia arrived, the house was dark and only the reverend was present. In the ensuing hour, she testified, he seduced her, "by persuasion," not by force. She also told the investigators that at this time Mrs. Huston and the couple's son and daughter were in Tennessee visiting family and friends.

What followed set a pattern for this rather informal trial. Witnesses for the prosecution testified to Virginia Hopkins's good character and veracity, and witnesses for the defense described her as a liar who used bad language and "went with" numerous men and boys. The defense called Lucy Adams to the stand, and when asked if Huston ever told her to ask Virginia Hopkins to come over to see him she emphatically replied, "No, sir."[9] Several other black defense witnesses who knew Hopkins testified, indicating an attempt to show she associated with African Americans, a group some whites viewed as sexually promiscuous.

The portion of the trial involving Virginia Hopkins was brief and fills just nine pages in the transcript. The remainder of the document, thirty-eight pages—is devoted to Mary Driscoll's charges. Clearly, the investigators were far more concerned with charges from a middle-class girl whose family mambers were active in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Driscoll's initial experience with the trial process must have been daunting. Over her mother's objections, the court forced the sixteen-year-old to meet the examining committee alone, without her mother or a lawyer accompanying her. Although she had written down a complete account of her experience, she was not permitted to give the document to the investigators. Instead, she replied verbally to the prosecutor's questions.[10] Driscoll's account of her relationship with Huston offers far more detail than Hopkins's, and her experience took place over a much longer period of time. Additional verbal testimony from her mother and a written deposition from her older sister Emma reinforced her story. Collectively they testified that Huston began to visit the Driscoll home in the summer of 1870, when Emma was recovering from a broken knee suffered in a fall at the church. Routine pastoral care dictated that he check on Emma's progress, and indeed he came to the home on several occasions to check on Emma. Each time he examined the knee. During an early September visit, Mary came into her sister's room and Huston remarked on the strength of her legs, compared to her sister's. Mrs. Driscoll allowed him to examine the younger girl's ankles. Later during that visit, Caroline Driscoll testified, Huston told her how impressed he was with Mary's abilities and urged their mother to allow Mary to spend time with him as the child's tutor, explaining that in the future he hoped to obtain a college professorship and would like to prepare Mary to be his assistant. He further told them that Mary should cut off relations with most of her girlfriends and devote herself to studying with him when she was not in school. Mrs. Driscoll told the court that she was happy to have such a distinguished minister show an interest in teaching her daughter.

Mary Driscoll, in her testimony, described a series of meetings that followed. The first time she responded to an invitation to visit the reverend she took along several other girls. He took her aside as they left and instructed her to come by herself the next time. From then on she visited alone, but the meetings were not what she had expected. In their first meeting alone she found that he wanted to talk about, and examine, her legs. In later meetings he did the same, and assured her that what he was doing was proper and not a cause for concern. After a "Wednesday night . . . Prayer-meeting he made an appointment for Thursday. This time he went so far as to feel my person. The next time I went to see him I come out of the parlor my virtue was gone." In response to a question from the investigators, Mary went on to explain that Huston had assured her that what had happened did not warrant concern. "A policeman had told him that nearly all the children that went to the public school did this thing with boys. It was better for me to have men, as they would be more careful, married men were the safest."[11]

The remaining extensive interviews in the transcript of the 1872 Baltimore trial are similar in nature to the much shorter testimony that followed Virginia Hopkins's account of her seduction. The investigators called numerous persons to testify as to Mary Driscoll's character and truthfulness, which produced a wide range of opinions. Detailed, and often confusing and contradictory testimony came forth on how, where, and when the alleged assignations occurred, the role of the servant Lucy Adams in facilitating them, and Mary Driscoll's relationship with other men and boys. Her statement that the seduction occurred in September 1870 provoked much discussion when witnesses testified that during that time Huston was suffering from an infected leg.

Late in the day on June 7, the testimony came to an end. "All night the sleepy [five] preachers pored over the details . . . and it was not until fifteen minutes after 7 o'clock [a.m.] on the 8th day of June . . . [that] the following verdict [was] agreed upon." The committee found that, "the said charges are not sustained."[12]

## Influential Advocate

At this point the entire matter took another unexpected and dramatic turn. Although the *Baltimore Sun* simply reported the outcome without immediate comment, on June 10 the *American and Commercial Advertiser* printed an editorial remarkable for its length and vehemence. The newspaper, and the entire community as well, "were appalled and astonished with the result of the trial." The editorial denounced the format and operation of the investigation as, "all in favor of the accused and calculated to convict the accusers." For example, the writer noted that the character of the two girls was, in effect, placed on trial, but without any advance notice of the identity of their accusers or an opportunity for cross-examination. "If such a thing could possibly occur in a court of law the superior court would at once nullify the whole proceeding and order the case to be tried anew." The editorialist angrily concluded

that the committee had branded "these poor children as malicious perjurers. God forgive them for their lack of heart and brain."[13]

The following day, June 11, the paper published Mary Driscoll's written account of her experience, a document the investigators had not permitted to be introduced when they questioned her. The girl's statement, dated March 16, 1872, had been "deposited" with the editor of the *American,* and that editor now directed his readers:

> It will be observed that this little girl did *not* fix September 24 as the date of Dr. Huston's first attempt to seduce her. She says that Dr. Huston *told* her on Thanksgiving Day that it was just two months since their intercourse began. She herself, however, fixes the date with unconscious accuracy in her statement, which was written before it was known what Dr. Huston's defense would be. Dr. Huston made an engagement to meet her on Friday, October 21. This date is fixed by the funeral of Mrs. Price, which occurred on that day. Dr. Huston met the child on that day as he was returning from the funeral and had some conversation with her. On the next Sunday he made an engagement to meet her on the following Tuesday. One week later (November 1) her ruin was accomplished.[14]

From these articles, it is clear that there was a close connection between the Driscoll family and the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser.* The owner and editor of the paper, Charles C. Fulton, also served as chief editorial writer. How did Fulton, a titan of Maryland's publishing industry and one of the most influential persons in Baltimore, become so closely connected with a school teacher and her family? Although no direct link has surfaced during this study, the Driscolls lived just two blocks from Fulton, perhaps they knew him through friends or neighbors. Whatever the relationship, Fulton remained an intense partisan on behalf of Mary Driscoll and her mother as they pursued their case against the Reverend Huston.[15]

## Pursuing Justice

And pursue it they would in the year following the trial that ended in June 1872. It must be remembered that the task of the ministers charged with investigating Huston's behavior was to determine if he should be immediately suspended from the ministry. Beyond that, the 1872 Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South instructed them to report their findings to the next Conference, scheduled to be held in Baltimore in March 1873. Thus, for nine months, the guilt or innocence of all parties remained open questions. Although the lull in activity certainly offered hope to the Driscolls and their supporters, it did not resonate well with the *American*'s local rival, the *Baltimore Sun.* In an angry editorial on June 22, 1872, the *Sun,* which now seemed much more interested in ending all the public discussion of sexual matters, denounced the church for leaving Huston's future uncertain and,

in an obvious criticism of it's competitor, "open[ing] the floodgates of all this gross immorality and vileness" in newspapers and general public discourse.[16]

The next nine months proved difficult for all involved. Reverend Huston did not attempt to preach in Baltimore. It is likely that he returned to his former home of Cincinnati, because a charge of adultery (probably the only possible charge under the laws of the time) had been filed against him in Baltimore sometime during this period, though it never came to trial. Per Maryland law, "[adultery] is only a misdemeanor [and] he cannot be reached by requisition in another state. If he does not choose voluntarily to appear [in Maryland], he cannot be brought to trial in the Criminal Court." Moreover, Huston had sued the *American* and Charles Fulton for $100,000 for libel. By March 1873 the libel case had been dismissed, but the criminal case was very much alive. As for the Driscolls and their supporters, per the editorial in the *American*, "they have already suffered almost beyond human endurance."[17]

For Huston, the 1873 Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South gathered in an unpropitious locale, Baltimore. When at last the conference opened on March 5, 1873, public interest had reached a fevered peak. Despite its proclaimed distaste for the whole matter, the *Sun* gave considerable coverage to the proceedings. The possibility of a criminal trial probably kept Huston away, but friends and a "clerical counsel" provided him with a strong representation. The *Sun* noted that the report of the preliminary investigation

> will be duly presented to [the] conference, and will then be referred to a committee composed . . . of not less than nine nor more than thirteen clerical members. The proceedings of the ecclesiastical court will be conducted behind closed doors, no persons being admitted but the committee, the accused and his clerical counsel and . . . the witnesses. The results will be made known at the end of the trial.[18]

It is clear that the church wanted no repetition of the constant—and often inaccurate—stories and rumors in the Baltimore papers as the second, more formal trial moved forward. Closed doors, though, could not stop the dailies from reporting on the proceedings.

Despite a paucity of new information, both papers published stories about the ongoing trial every day from March 7 through March 15, reports that provided little more than accounts of simple procedural matters or rumors. Coverage in the *Sun* generally stuck closer to provable facts, but it sometimes printed hearsay: "The committee held a meeting yesterday to arrange for the trial of the case. . . . It is rumored that the prosecution is in possession of testimony of an important character to rebut the testimony advanced by the accused at the preliminary investigation." On March 10, two days into the second trial, the investigating committee requested that "none of the members be appointed on any other committee, so that they may

*Caroline Driscoll and Charles F. Fulton (c.1879–1883). Mary's mother Caroline steadfastly pursued justice for her daughter. Much of their success can be attributed to the unprecedented coverage the story received in Charles Fulton's* American and Commercial Daily Advertiser. *Fulton married Caroline Driscoll in 1879. (Private Collection.)*

devote all their time to the Huston investigation." A report in the March 12 issue of the *Sun* stated that the paper "understood" that evidence had been presented to the trial that disproved the alibi Huston had given for his condition at the time of Mary Driscoll's seduction. Further, the committee had "labored assiduously, holding sessions both day and night." Both papers reported a strong rumor that "there was

testimony before the committee . . . of an attempt on the part of Dr. Huston to take improper liberties with another girl, not included" in the first trial.

As might be expected, rumors and emotional editorial comments peppered the columns of the *American*. For example, many witnesses "flatly contradicted much of the defense testimony from the original trial." This appeared despite the fact that the paper had no reporters at any of the sessions, for the committee worked privately.[19]

Ultimately, the *American's* dependence on unsubstantiated sources caused the newspaper to commit a serious blunder. On Friday, March 14, 1873, the paper printed a front page headline, "Dr. Huston Acquitted." The story under that dramatic headline began, "It was reported about town that Dr. Huston would be acquitted by the Committee of ministers trying the case." The next morning the committee reported its verdict to the assembled conference. Both newspapers described the March 15 scene in great detail. A large crowd had assembled and filled Trinity Church. As the committee had finished its work "after a very protracted session, continuing to about 4 ½ o'clock in the morning" it was not until "shortly before 11 o'clock [that] the members of the committee entered":

> Dr. Regester, the chairman, a fine, portly looking elderly gentleman, proceeded forward, upon invitation, and [took] a seat beside the presiding bishop, Rev. Dr. Dogett. . . . [T]he Bishop rapped the Conference to order, and requested all to be seated. He then asked, "is the committee in the case of L. D. Huston ready to report?" Dr. Regester answered in the affirmative. . . . Dr. Martin, the secretary of the Conference then, in a clear, audible voice, amid a silence that seemed almost painful, read the following: "That after calm and patient investigation, they find the charge of immorality unanimously sustained, and that therefore the said Lorenzo D. Huston is solemnly expelled from the Methodist Episcopal Church South." There was no demonstration of any kind made when the verdict was declared, except a sigh of relief that seemed to escape from some of the members.[20]

Both newspapers greeted the verdict with praise for the Methodist Episcopal Church South. The *American* commented that, "The Church had protected its own honor, and was mindful of the protection due to the children under its charge." The *Sun* wrote that church "has performed this duty with a manliness and fidelity notably wanting in the Congress of the United States in its efforts at self-purification."[21]

Dramatic and emotional events such as this have a profound effect on all involved. How did all the major participants in this sad story feel about their experiences and what happened to them afterwards? Frequently, the barrier of time and a paucity of sources prevent answers to these questions. In this case, however, the prominence of Charles Fulton and Lorenzo Huston permits considerable insight into these issues.

Turning first to the accused clergyman and his family, it is possible to address these matters in some detail. In its editorial the day he was convicted, the *Sun* predicted, "it is not probable, judging from the developments of character in this case, that [Huston] will feel the humiliation of his position." This opinion proved to be quite correct. At the time of the first newspaper stories and editorials carrying accusations against him, Huston's reaction had been to blame the newspapers. At the 1872 Annual Conference he had stated, "I shall wait until I have been fully vindicated before this Conference, and from that hour until the last day of my life I shall be in pursuit of the man that blistered that daughter's cheek with shame, and stabbed that wife to the heart." When his lawsuit against the *American* and its proprietor had failed, and the conference, instead of vindicating him had convicted him, Huston announced that he would appeal the conviction to the next General Conference of all branches of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in Louisville, Kentucky, in May 1874. When he did so, however, the conference summarily rejected his request for reconsideration.[22]

Lorenzo Huston found himself in a difficult position. His authority to preach had been revoked and his conviction had been widely publicized. Additionally, he had assumed his son's debts in 1870, which drastically reduced his personal savings. At this point, he took his family and left for a distant and primitive frontier, Daytona, Florida. Huston's sister, Mary Huston Hoag, bought the only hotel in the very small town, and Huston, his wife, and their son moved into it, living in two rooms and helping Mrs. Hoag run the business. That was early Florida, before air conditioning, mosquito control, and tourists. Daytona counted only about seventy residents and did not incorporate until July 26, 1876. Doubtless because Huston was one of the few well-educated professionals in the area, or the only one, the people of Daytona elected him their first mayor the same year. He later served, at various times, as justice of the peace, county superintendent of public instruction, and as state railroad commissioner. In November 1887 he and his wife died of yellow fever. Not a breath of scandal appeared to have followed him to Florida. As late as 1976 a history of Volusia County still referred to him as, "The Methodist Episcopal Minister L.D. Huston." It seems unlikely that in the extremely rural area of Volusia County in this period, living in a single hotel room amidst his immediate family, and with no obedient servant such as Lucy Adams to assist him, Huston had any opportunity to continue seducing young girls.[23]

We do not know what Huston thought of his "exile" to the wilds of early Florida. In 1993 one of his descendants published his letters, dating from the years before the Civil War through his relocation to Florida. It is remarkable that in all of his correspondence with family and friends far and wide there is absolutely no mention of the accusations, trials, and ultimate conviction by the ecclesiastical court. There is, though, a whisper of the troubles in a letter to his daughter dated January 1, 1873. "In all the darkness I have never lost trust in God, and I am, as I have ever

been, thoroughly convinced that, come what will, He will be sure to make it right, in the end." Huston apparently "compartmentalized" his life, separating his family and his professional responsibilities from his pursuit of young girls. And when he left Baltimore and his pulpit, he went without Lucy Adams, his long-time servant, who enabled the seductions. When he left Baltimore, it seems likely that Lorenzo Huston finally gave up the illegitimate part of his life.[24]

What became of those who had spoken out against the Reverend Lorenzo Huston? In the case of Virginia Hopkins, the answers are not detailed or complete. Being a poor servant girl, and an orphan with no immediate family, the only available source of information about her is the United States census. Her entry in the 1880 census is suggestive—and depressing. She lived in a very poor area of Baltimore with two small children, ages three and two, and identified herself as a single housekeeper for shoe fitter Horatio Tuttle. It is entirely possible that she was a prostitute. Hopkins does not appear in later censuses, but Horatio Tuttle does—as an inmate of the Baltimore City Jail in 1900. With no social support structure in the wake of her widely publicized admission of sexual activity outside of marriage, Virginia Hopkins had fallen to the bottom of society.[25]

The story of the Driscoll family is different and very surprising. Despite the best efforts of family historian Seely Foley, the whereabouts of Mary Driscoll in the years immediately after the second trial cannot be established. It seems most unlikely that she remained in Baltimore where she would have drawn unwelcome attention after the two trials. Ms. Foley suggests that she may have gone either to Boston or to Washington, D.C., to live with relatives. We do know that on May 17, 1879, Mary Driscoll married Thomas Kenny, a Union army veteran thirteen years her senior, at Foundry Methodist Episcopal Church in Washington, D.C. They were married for over twenty-five years, until his death in 1905, and had six children. For almost all of their married life they lived with Mary's mother, Caroline, in a house she owned. Perhaps this kind of living arrangement provided Mary Driscoll Kenny with the kind of emotional support she needed after the trauma of her teenage years. In any case, there are no family letters or other records that shed light on the Driscolls' experiences. It appears that like Lorenzo Huston—but for very different reasons—the family needed to put the entire ugly episode behind them.[26]

In building a new life, the Driscoll family had a great deal of help from a familiar source—Charles C. Fulton. On September 30, 1879, the newspaper magnate, a long-time widower, married Caroline K. Driscoll. The strong emotional bond between Fulton and the Driscolls was evident in his 1872–1873 editorials, raising the question of why the marriage did not take place earlier. Concern over the disposition of Fulton's estate offers a plausible explanation. The newspaper owner's first wife had died in 1868, and together they had four children. In 1883, shortly before his death, Fulton drafted a deed in which he clearly stated that all of his estate, with two exceptions, would go to those children. He then noted that he had made an "ante-nuptial con-

*Mary Driscoll Kenny in later life. Mary married Civil War veteran Thomas Kenny in 1879. Fulton gave Kenny a job on the* American *and provided for Mary after his death. (Private Collection.)*

tract or agreement" with Caroline Driscoll on their wedding day that, at the time of his death, would give her $2,000 per year for the remainder of her life, and $1,000 per year to Mary Driscoll Kenny for the rest of her life. Fulton also provided for the

Driscoll family indirectly, by employing Thomas Kenny, who subsequently worked as the court reporter for the *Baltimore American* for more than twenty years. Charles Fulton, during his lifetime and after his death on June 7, 1883, provided a financial safety net to assist the Driscolls as they attempted to put their traumatic, and very public, experience behind them.[27]

More than 135 years have passed since the trials of the Reverend Lorenzo Huston, and historians have documented additional incidents of clergymen engaged in immoral, probably sexual, behavior. The author of one recent study observed:

> A double life is prevalent among all types of sex offenders. . . . Priests, of course, have had a leg up on this business of the double life because the role itself has traditionally been respected. The term "priest," like "doctor," carries a connotation of someone who is dedicated to helping others, someone who is there to provide solace and comfort.[28]

During the investigation, trials, and appeal of Lorenzo Huston, the Methodist Episcopal Church South also disciplined or expelled several other ministers for unspecified immoral behavior. These men did not contest their cases and therefore the types of crimes remain lost to history. Indeed, in a recent study of the relationship between the exclusively male clergy of nineteenth-century America and its primarily female constituency, Karin E. Gedge has discovered more than two dozen similar cases and twenty-nine pamphlets in which women accused ministers of wrongdoing, usually sexual. In the third quarter of the nineteenth century, society viewed such incidents as unique and recorded them as individual cases of sinning. Only in the past half-century or so has research in the social sciences recognized the pathological nature of this behavior and the consequent threat to young people.[29]

Indeed, the social costs of the Huston case go far beyond the lives of the principal players in these events. In her remarkable written account of her experience, Mary Driscoll described Lorenzo Huston's behavior and attitude toward women and girls:

> I was never in his company on the street but what he would make some improper remark about every lady he saw. He said I was not the only person he has stayed with; he had connection with eighty-three before he came to Baltimore; that three of them had children in the image of him. One of these three was in Cincinnati.[30]

Even if half of Huston's claims were true, the social and psychological costs of his behavior were extensive, particularly in a society where little in the way of support services were available to the women and girls he abused.

How and why did truth prevail in this case, particularly since Karin Gedge found that eighteen of the twenty-nine ministers accused of similar behavior were found

innocent and a number more received light penalties? Men dominated most of those trials—civil or ecclesiastical—as prosecutors, defense counsel, and jurors. This "masculine culture" displayed little understanding of the realities women faced and handed down their verdicts accordingly. That was surely true in the case of Lorenzo Huston, and it is clearly reflected in the verdict of the first trial—but the situation changed when Charles C. Fulton, a powerful, male champion took up the case and spread it across the pages of his nationally recognized newspaper.[31]

Equally crucial to the outcome of the case were the courageous efforts of two girls and a woman, who pushed to end this tragic story and stop Huston's predations. It is difficult to convey to the modern reader the social and emotional cost to Virginia Hopkins, Mary Driscoll, and Caroline Driscoll of standing up and publicly testifying about sexual matters in Victorian-era Baltimore. Only Fulton's intervention and generosity prevented the Driscolls from much more suffering than they endured. The fate of Virginia Hopkins says far more about the status of women in American society at this time, and goes a long way toward explaining why events such as the trials and eventual conviction of Lorenzo Huston did not occur more often.

## NOTES

1. *Baltimore Sun*, February 24, 1872; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser,* February 24, 1872.
2. Maria M. Clifton, ed., *All We Have to Fear is the Lonesome: The Letters of L. D. Huston From Pre–Civil War Days Through his Relocation to the Florida Frontier in 1874* (s.l., s.n., 1993), 8; *The Trial of the Rev. L. D. Huston for the Alleged Seduction of Mary Driscoll, Virginia Hopkins, &c* (Baltimore: Fisher and Denison, 1872), 3.
3. *Proceedings of the Baltimore Annual Conference* as reprinted in *The Trial of the Rev. L. D. Huston*, 7.
4. Nicola Beisel, *Imperiled Innocents: Anthony Comstock and Family Reproduction in Victorian America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 25. Although carefully worded advertisements for aphrodisiacs and "cures" for venereal disease were regularly published in magazines and newspapers, there was no discussion of the social issues these ads reflected.
5. Mary E. Odem, *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 9–37.
6. See footnote 2, above. Many of the copies of this document were published on the worst quality, high acid newsprint, and only seven copies are known to have survived.
7. *The Trial of the Rev. L. D Huston*, 8.
8. Ibid., 10.
9. Ibid., 18.
10. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 11, 1872, reprinted in *The Trial of the Rev. L. D. Huston*, 61.
11. *The Trial of the Rev. L. D Huston*, 21, 22.
12. Ibid., 58.
13. Ibid., 62
14. Ibid., 61.

15. See, for example, J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia: Everts, 1881), 610–11, 15. Seely K. Foley, "Kezia Buck and Her Descendants," unpublished typescript in the author's possession, 32.
16. *Baltimore Sun*, "An Inexcusable Scandal," June 22, 1872.
17. *Baltimore Sun*, "The Case of Dr. Huston," March 6, 1873; *The Trial of Rev. L. D. Huston*, 60.
18. *Baltimore Sun*, "Local Matters," March 4, 1873.
19. Ibid., "The Huston Investigation," March 8, 10, 13, 14, 1873; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, "The Huston Case," March 10, 1873.
20. *Baltimore Sun*, "The Huston Investigation—He is Found Guilty and Expelled from the Church," March 15, 1873.
21. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, "Conviction of Dr. Huston," March 15, 1873; *Baltimore Sun*, "The Huston Verdict," March 15, 1873.
22. Ibid., quoted in the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, March 15, 1873; *Baltimore Sun*, "The Huston Case at Louisville," May 23, 1874.
23. *The Trial of the Rev. L. D. Huston*, 3; Clifton, ed., *All We Have to Fear is the Lonesome*, 6. Huston's son operated a school in Baltimore. T. E. Fitzgerald, *Volusia County, Past and Present* (Daytona Beach, Fla.: Observer Press., 1937), 101; Michael Schene, *Hopes, Dreams and Promises: A History of Volusia County, Florida* (Daytona Beach, Fla.: News Journal Corp., 1976), 101–11; Clifton, ed., *All We Have to Fear is the Lonesome*, 6.
24. Clifton, ed., *All We Have to Fear is the Lonesome*, 75.
25. *Wood's Baltimore City Directory for 1874* (Baltimore: Wood, 1874), 659.
26. Interview with Seely Foley, Frederick, Maryland, April 10, 2009. The last known record of Lucy Adams is a listing in the 1874 Baltimore city directory in which she was described as a "washerwoman"; marriage certificate in the possession of Seely Foley, Frederick, Maryland; "Thomas M. Kenny," obituary, *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, December 4, 1905. See, for example, U.S. Census, Baltimore, 1900, Vol. 17, E.D.189, sheet 1, entry of Caroline K. Fulton, which records three generations of the Kenny/Driscoll family in one household. *Baltimore Sun*, October 2, 1879, 2.
27. *Trust Estate of Charles Carroll Fulton, Copies of Original Deed of Trust and Instruments and supplementary thereto* (Baltimore, Md.: s.n., 1921); Thomas M. Kenny obituary.
28. Anna C. Salter, *Predators: Pedophiles, Rapists and Other Sex Offenders* (New York: Basic Books, 2003), 34, 37.
29. See, for example, "Another Case of Immorality," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, March 10, 1873; Karin E. Gedge, *Without Benefit of Clergy: Women and the Pastoral Relationship in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 51–52.
30. Mary Driscoll, "Statement of the Child Victim," *The Trial of the Rev. L. D. Huston*, 62.
31. Gedge, *Without Benefit of Clergy*, 63–70.

# From "Nature's Nation" to "Washington's Playground": Marshall Hall, Middle-Class Culture, and the Commercialization of Leisure, 1865–1900

REYNOLDS J. SCOTT-CHILDRESS

In the summer of 1880, a committee of private individuals and public officials turned the picnic grove at Marshall Hall, on the banks of the Potomac River across from Mt. Vernon, into an object lesson of middle-class proprieties. They organized an excursion to the site for Washington, D.C.'s impoverished boys. More than six hundred youths, answering to such monikers as "Jack," "Shorty," "Skinny," "Potato," and "Ice Cream," crowded onto the steamer *Mary Washington* for an all-day vacation from their usual ruts of poverty. There were boys, as the *Post* reporter snobbishly put it, "of all sizes and complexions, the majority barefooted, dirty and noisy." They were "boys mainly from the lower strata of society, who knew not the art of putting on company manners." There was also a sprinkling of young girls and women who, the reporter mused, "looked as if they needed to breathe the pure, fresh air, not for one day only but for many weeks." On reaching the Marshall Hall wharf, the boys unloaded the horde of food and then doffed their clothes on the sand to cool in waters of the Potomac. The organizers of the excursion (District restaurateur and German immigrant Edward Abner, a newsman named Burkhardt of the Washington *Journal*, the pound master for the Washington, D.C., health department Samuel Einstein, a physician, Dr. Walters, and police officers O'Hara and Thompson) served a snack of bread and milk, while others prepared a dinner of "lemonade by the tubful and coffee by the gallon . . . immense hampers of sandwiches," watermelons, and peaches. On the return trip, a mock battle broke out among the boys as they attacked one another with green apples "harvested" from the orchards surrounding the picnic grove but declared peace when Mr. Abner broke out a fresh round of bread and milk. Similar scenes would be repeated for years to

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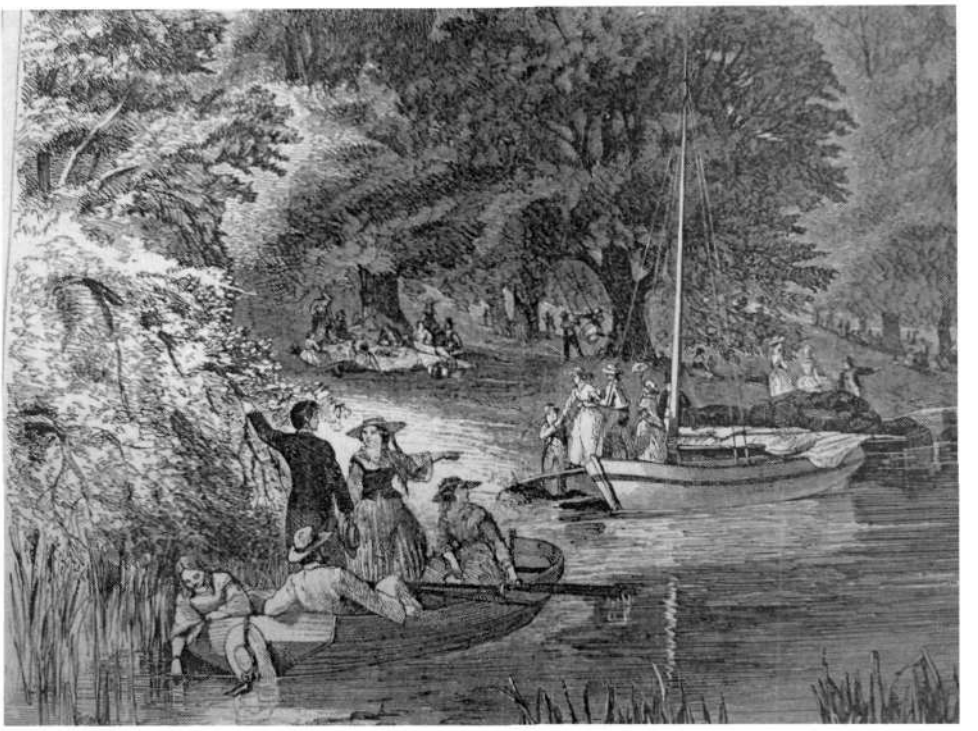

*Mid-nineteenth-century urban Americans sought relaxation in nature. Savvy entrepreneurs built amusement parks and developed picnic grounds for middle-class daytrippers eager to escape city life. Winslow Homer,* A Picnic By the Water (Harper's Weekly, *June 5, 1858.*)

come as Marshall Hall became the site of an annual orphans' picnic that brought parentless youths out of their institutions and down the river for a rare experience of open space and middle-class leisure.

This event and the development of the picnic grove at Marshall Hall grew out of a potentially debilitating problem faced by nineteenth-century Americans of the coalescing middle class. In their quest to distinguish themselves from the other significant classes of the period—farmers, laborers, and capitalists—the clerks, lawyers, managers, shop owners, and assorted others immigrating into the cities found it difficult to justify their economic usefulness, define their social status, or establish their historical legitimacy as a group. Farmers, laborers, and capitalists each had ready and socially powerful ways to identify themselves. Farmers and laborers worked with their hands to produce the goods essential to life. Capitalists, akin to modern-day noblemen, controlled property to build vast corporate empires. But middling folks were neither producers of material goods nor masters of vast propertied domains. Beginning in the 1830s, one of the central means through which middling Americans sought class distinction was the appropriation of American nature as their own.

Nature had long played a key role in American nationalism. In a country that

lacked virtually all the vital requisites of a nation—a unique language, a past trailing off into the mists of history, a national culture, a sense of ethnic peoplehood, a single physical environment, a unifying religion—nature was the nation's one truly distinguishing feature. Americans developed a mythology of the land. Places such as Niagara Falls, the Hudson River Valley, and Virginia's Natural Bridge became reverential sites where American pilgrims believed nature's God spoke to them as a chosen people, as Nature's Nation. Unlike European "nature," the landscapes of America remained untouched by the works of man. Those schooled in the alphabet of its flora and fauna received the revelations of a higher spirit. Here, as Thomas Cole, founder of the Hudson River Valley school of landscape painters, observed, America provided the "scenes of solitude from which the hand of nature has ne'er been lifted."[1]

Middling Americans increasingly appropriated the Nature's Nation mantel. To justify their claims that they best understood its meaning and value, they engaged nature in two related ways. They denied that the power of nature was its productive capacity and they transformed nature into an aesthetic object. That is, the farmer and the capitalist could not appreciate nature because they saw it only as raw material for producing goods for the marketplace and were bent on destroying nature's "scenes of solitude" with their plows, their railroads, their quarries. With the aestheticization of nature, middle-class folks could separate themselves from the rough amusements and urban culture of the working class as well as the rank materialism of the upper orders. In the emerging culture of the middle class, nature's significance lay in its ability to provide a spiritual balm for the evil temptations of the city, the fractious divisions of partisan politics, and the fragmentation of religious sectarianism. As Cole put it, nature countered the seemingly endless process of "toiling to produce more toil—accumulating in order to aggrandize."[2] This middle-class nature provided a secular salvation. As an anonymous writer mused in an 1855 issue of *The Circular:*

> Why is it that trees and flowers touch the strings of our inner nature so thrillingly? There seems to be something about them, aside from their material uses—their fruit and shade-giving functions—that links them to the heart. How often does the eye wander away from the fields and rest unweariedly on some majestic tree, or wood-covered hill. We gaze into their deep green labyrinths, and think and dream of heaven, and picture to ourselves angels dwelling there.[3]

There was no better way to experience this heaven, for the middle class, than an errand into the wilderness for a picnic.[4]

But the idyllic picnic proved increasingly difficult to find. Reaching an appropriately picturesque site could take a lot of work. Brush might have to be removed, rocks shoved to the side, or trees felled if they blocked the view. Such work was part

of Eliza Farnham's first picnic outing in 1846. "On the very pinnacle of the bluff," she recalled, "we found a little shaded nook, just large enough to admit our number. Here, after the vines and light undergrowth had been cleared away, we spread our white napkins, table cloths, &c, and laid out our simple refreshments." Another danger was that of drowning. In the middle of the nineteenth century newspapers frequently reported storms or capsizings resulting in the watery deaths of picnickers. Although these picnics were central to the creation of a sense of middle-class social cohesion, there was also a hint of the illicit. Even a quick look at the numerous picnic genre paintings, such as Thomas Cole's widely known picture, *The Pic-Nic* (1846), reveals youths in male-female pairs moving toward the margins of the group, speaking in intimate whispers, disappearing from view behind trees, edging deeper into the forest, yearning for what Spencer Kellogg Brown called in his diary "one of your hastily snatched picnic kisses." Last of all, as picnics became increasingly popular among those who would be middle class, secluded spots became harder to find.[5]

After the Civil War, entrepreneurs established commercial picnic groves to accommodate middle-class interest. Situated on riverbanks for easy accessibility by steamboat, a well-appointed grove took away the concerns associated with private picnics. The sites required no brush clearing or other manual labor, and as visitors traveled by commercial vessels, the risk of drowning decreased dramatically. Site owners could not assume a clientele but had to present a special appeal through proximity to a unique natural sight or historic locale, and they had to compete with other middle-class "nature" institutions such as urban parks and religious retreats.

Urbanites sought the pleasures of nature near at hand, if they could create them. In 1859, New York City officials began the construction of Central Park, designed by the century's preeminent landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted. In the following decades, many municipalities introduced green spaces among their crowding cityscapes, although rarely on the same scale. Washington, D.C., joined ranks with the park movement when Olmsted turned his sights on the capital city and left his imprint on the U.S. Capitol grounds and the National Zoological Park toward the end of the nineteenth century. His son, Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., succeeded his father as the nation's premier landscape architect and was instrumental in the development of Rock Creek Park (built after 1890). Those parks helped Washingtonians appreciate the value of green space but lacked a vital component—amusement. Olmstedian parks sought a reverence for nature and aesthetic contemplation, not release from the psychic rigors created by the managerial revolution and corporate compulsions.

Such release, however, posed a threat to commercial venues because they suggested the possibility of illicit behavior. Commercial amusement sites could avoid the taint of immorality by associating themselves with another budding form of rural excursion. Numerous Christian groups adapted the old evangelical practice of tent revivals to create permanent locales for religious recreation and contem-

plation. After the Civil War, camp meeting sites appeared around the country in places such as Ocean Grove, New Jersey (opened in 1869). There, urban families could retreat from chaos and metropolitan temptations into natural surroundings under the auspices of the Methodist Church. Several of the major denominations soon followed suit.

Picnic groves offered a combination of all three influences. Beginning in the years around the Civil War, a number of entrepreneurs pioneered the development of permanent picnic sites. Among the earliest of these was Kenny's Grove, located along the Monongahela River about ten miles from Pittsburgh. This primitive picnic area may have been instrumental in the transformation of Marshall Hall from a plantation into first a picnic grove, and later one of the nation's first modern amusement parks. Pittsburgh was the home of John M. Little, a man likely familiar with Kenny's Grove and its commercial potential. Soon after the Civil War he traveled to Washington and bought Marshall Hall. If Little came to the nation's capital looking to establish a picnic grove, he could hardly have found a more appealing and picturesque site.[6]

## The Pleasures of Middle-Class Nature

Marshall Hall had once been the proud seat of one of the founders of Charles County's colonial gentry, Thomas Marshall, who had built a fine dwelling house from which he managed his tobacco fields. But a combination of mismanagement by his nineteenth-century descendants and the demise of slavery doomed the property as a site for the production of agricultural goods in the 1860s. The land was worn out, as was the last Thomas Marshall of Marshall Hall. Already living in the city of Washington in the 1850s, it seems that he could hardly conceive of the ancestral home as anything more than a source of capital. By 1865, the land could not support tobacco and, more generally, seemed to hold little value beyond a dissipated family heritage, until John M. Little envisioned a new enterprise.[7]

On September 23, 1867, Thomas and Henrietta Marshall sold Little their 377 acres of Marshall Hall land. The Pittsburgher agreed to a price of $14,000 for the property, and paid with a combination of cash and a mortgage to the Marshalls for $2,400. He paid off the mortgage less than two years later, which apparently gave him time to consider what he would do with his prize. It is impossible to know Little's initial thoughts, whether he saw agricultural or commercial value in the land. Perhaps he did not even view himself as an entrepreneur. It is entirely likely that he bought Marshall Hall with an eye to building up the peach and apple orchards the family had tried to establish alongside their depleted tobacco fields. Whatever the case, it is clear that by the middle of the 1870s Little had discovered a way to make Marshall Hall productive without having to plant a single tobacco seed or pick a single piece of fruit.[8]

Little founded his picnic grove at Marshall Hall sometime around 1870, shortly

after he bought the property, and apparently met with an enthusiastic response. By the end of the decade, steamboats such as the *Express*, the *Arrow*, the *Mary Washington*, the *Corcoran*, the *Lady of the Lake*, and the *John W. Thompson* plied the Potomac, bringing visitors downriver on any day or night of the week. Passengers disembarked onto the "narrow and primitive wharf" and walked up the painted wooden stairs onto the wide lawn that stretched out below the grove of trees surrounding the old Marshall mansion and the new picnic pavilion. Some arrived in small groups, such as the three hundred Washingtonians—families, circles of friends, young lovers—who boarded the steamboat *Mattano* on August 4, 1878, to escape the city's summer heat. Others came as members of teeming excursions.[9]

All manner of organizations traveled to the Marshall Hall grove. Religious, ethnic, social, labor, political, professional, philanthropic, fraternal, military, and other groups rented Little's site for celebrations, commemorations, relaxation, merrymaking—and fund raising. An 1878 article in the *Washington Post* about the excursion of the mysteriously named "Departmental Dozen" noted that this was the group's eighth annual trip to the site. The Dozen "secured exclusive use of the grounds" for more than seven hundred passengers to commemorate Decoration Day (the forerunner of Memorial Day) on May 30. The trip had a dual purpose, to offer select Washingtonians a day of frivolity and to raise money for a charitable cause. Marshall Hall, through the 1870s, served these same two purposes for numerous other groups.[10]

Some groups picnicked at Marshall Hall with an eye to emphasizing their group solidarity or social exclusivity. The *Post* announced on May 2, 1880, that the following Friday the Supreme Lodge of the Independent Order of Mechanics, with representatives from Washington, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, would celebrate the completion of their annual meeting with an excursion to Marshall Hall. There they would deepen their fraternal bonds with a "collation and shad-plank bake" and entertain their wives by dancing to the music of "Pistorio's fine band." A very different group secured the picnic grove later that summer. The *Post*'s "Social Intelligence" columnist reported on September 9, 1880, that on the previous Tuesday "lively excursionists embarked on the yacht *Ella Tredwell* for Marshall Hall, and spent the day dancing, singing and flirting, until a later hour." This well-heeled band of merrymakers included the Umplebys, Dwyers, Vogelsons, and their friends, children, and children's friends, eighteen in all. Other groups traveled to Marshall Hall to support various philanthropies. Groups such as the Dozen sold tickets for the excursions they organized in order to cover their costs (chartering a steamboat, renting the grounds, providing food and music) as well as to generate philanthropic funds. One group hired out the *John W. Thompson* for a moonlight excursion to Little's picnic grove on Tuesday, September 17, 1878. The announcement proclaimed that the proceeds from all ticket and bar sales would go to "the benefit of the fever sufferers." The following summer, the District police sold more than one thousand Marshall Hall excursion

tickets to raise funds for "deserving families of deceased policemen." Four days after the police excursion, the supporters of "Prof." Robert Odlum helped him raise funds for a swimming pool in Virginia by holding a water carnival replete with "the game of [water] polo, a four-mile swim by Prof. Donaldson, etc."[11]

## Marshall Hall, Inc.: A Commercial Property

By the early 1880s, John Little had grown tired of running a picnic grove. Perhaps he soured on playing host to increasing throngs of city folk. Perhaps he wanted to expand his agricultural production. Or perhaps he wanted to move his growing family to larger quarters. By 1880, ten people crowded into the old Marshall home, his wife Louisa, son John W., daughter-in-law Amelia, three grandchildren under the age of five, his elder brother James (the Marshall Hall postmaster), and an African American servant, Rose Brown, and her infant daughter Mary. It is also possible that Little received a proposition he could not afford to turn down, a hefty offer to sell the property for nearly double what he had paid for it less than ten years earlier.[12]

Whatever the reason, John M. and Louisa Little sold the 377 acres of Marshall Hall, with the residence and other buildings, in September 1884 for $25,000, a profit of $11,000 (or $500,000 and $217,000, respectively, in current U.S. dollars). The two men who bought the property were hardly strangers to the Little family, and one of them, Levi Lowell Blake, knew well the possibilities of a picnic grove within easy reach of Washington, D.C. He had captained the *Mary Washington*, which visited Marshall Hall frequently, and, since 1878, he had owned the exclusive right to ferry patriotic pilgrims from the nation's capital to George Washington's fabled home at Mt. Vernon.[13]

Blake was apparently concerned about the future of his business in the summer of 1883, as his monopoly on landing passengers at the Mount Vernon wharf was set to expire in June of that year. If he lost the contract, he would need some other enticing destination to prevent the loss of passengers. It seems likely that he set his eyes on Marshall Hall, believing that if he lost the Mount Vernon trade altogether, the spot on the Maryland shore would be a suitable substitute. If he regained the contract *and* controlled Marshall Hall, his business would be vastly improved. Needing capital to obtain the property, Blake turned to an old friend, Joseph C. McKibbin, adventurer, pioneer, former member of Congress, and Civil War veteran.

Steamboat captain Blake and his partner McKibbin transformed Marshall Hall from a primitive riverside picnic grove into a polished commercial venture. They brought to the project wide experience as men who had traveled far in search of wealth and adventure, from the California gold fields of '49 to the halls of Congress. They had become friends in the frenzied West and now, in the late 1870s, both looked to a leisured enterprise in which they could share their ebbing years. They bought Marshall Hall at a historically opportune moment, just as such sites of "rural" entertainment were becoming fixtures of American cities. They ran the business smoothly

and used it to establish themselves as fixtures of Washington's social scene. By the early 1890s, the *Washington Post* could proclaim the two of them "so well known in this city and the surrounding country that more than mention of their names is almost superfluous."[14]

The two men traveled far in life before reaching their exalted status in the nation's capital.[15] Levi Lowell Blake was born in New Haven, Vermont, in 1830. His father, Abijah Blake, was a tanner-turned-sea captain who sailed away from home often for as long as a year at a time. Abijah's voyages took him around Cape Horn to California, where he loaded up with wheat that he then transported to Europe before returning to New England. He must have infected his son Levi with dreams of the West. The Mexican-American War of the middle 1840s drew Levi from the East. Levi soon thereafter traveled to California in the first crushing days of the gold rush, arriving in San Francisco in April 1849. Working gold fields throughout the state, he built and lost fortunes. As Blake recalled his mining days in California, "We made money freely and spent money like rain." He used the money to travel back east, making it as far as the Mississippi River, where he "secured a berth on the *Hannah Moore*, a famous steamboat of those days." He then drifted back west, rambling up to Washington and Montana territories in the years just before the Civil War. He worked for the railroad survey of Governor Isaac Stevens of the Washington territory and helped John Mullen open the first wagon road to Walla Walla. These connections apparently helped him win election to the territorial legislature in 1862, but the lure of gold fields around Boise, Idaho, distracted him and he never returned to the capital at Olympia to serve his term. Instead, per his obituary, he sat out the Civil War "conquering Montana from the savages" as the Indian agent at Jocko Reservation near Polson, Montana (created through a treaty negotiated by Blake's friend Governor Stevens). He left Montana on January 7, 1870, settled in Washington, D.C., and, apparently employing skills he gained from his seafaring father and his stint on the Mississippi, set himself up as the shipmaster of the *Mary Washington* and other steamships.[16]

Joseph Chambers McKibbin (sometimes spelled McKibben) also traveled far before settling at Marshall Hall. He was born on May 11, 1824, in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, where he attended the common schools and grew to an imposing six feet three inches. He may have spent much time in Washington, D.C., as the result of his father's prominence in Democratic Party circles. He matriculated at Princeton College in 1840 but left in 1842 before completing his studies and drifted for several years before ending up in Sierra County, California, at the time of the gold rush in 1849. There on the Pacific slope, as his obituary put it, he "rose to prominence in that collection of all types and classes." McKibbin studied law, gained admittance to the California bar in July 1852, and entered politics, winning a seat in the state senate. At some point during this time, he became involved in water transportation, running a steamship line along the coast of California. In 1856, he won election to the U.S.

Congress as an anti-Lecompton Democrat and served for one term, but failed to gain reelection in 1858. On his return to California, McKibbin acted as "second" to state Senator David Broderick in his infamous 1859 duel with Judge David Terry over the issue of slavery in California. Broderick's death at the hands of the pro-slavery judge gave McKibbin the resolve to join the Union Army at the first call to war in 1861. One of the first six cavalry officers President Abraham Lincoln appointed to the Northern cavalry, he rose to the rank of colonel on the staffs of Generals Henry W. Halleck and William S. Rosecrans. Reports of disturbing drunken behavior cut short his military career and he returned to Washington, reuniting with his forty-niner friend, Blake.[17]

Blake and McKibbin became steamboat entrepreneurs on the Potomac River sometime in the middle 1870s. Competition among steamboat lines was intense, as numerous ships plied the river between Washington and points south, carrying passengers to leisure sites and transporting produce from farmers' wharves to markets in the city. The most lucrative trip, however, remained the voyage to Mt. Vernon.

Blake and McKibbin secured the exclusive right to convey passengers from Washington to Mount Vernon in the summer of 1878. Blake placed an announcement in the May 29, 1878, edition of the *Washington Post* that proclaimed, "The steamer *Mary Washington*, which has been recently refitted and furnished, L. L. Blake, captain, is the only boat allowed to land passengers at Mount Vernon wharf." J. McH. Hollingsworth, superintendent of the Ladies' Mount Vernon Association, which owned (and continues to own) Mt. Vernon, authorized the announcement. Blake and McKibbin replaced the *Mary Washington* in 1881 with a new boat they had built specifically for the Mount Vernon trade, the *W. W. Corcoran*, and began looking for ways to expand their business, but apparently a lack of cash hindered their plans.[18]

Blake and McKibbin approached John Little with an offer to buy Marshall Hall at the end of the 1884 summer season. But the squeeze on their resources is clear in that, of the $25,000 purchase price, the two riverboat men could manage to offer only 25 percent in cash—$18,750 was in the form of a mortgage to Little, payable in three years, a far too optimistic time frame. Although the partners paid off $5,500 in 1886, they still owed $7,506.59 eleven years later in 1897, at which point Little sold the debt to the Central Bank of Washington. Many years passed before the bank cleared its books of the Blake-McKibbin liability.[19]

Experienced in losing fortunes in the California gold rush, Blake and McKibbin moved to protect their investment in Marshall Hall and their various steamship assets. The two former forty-niners sold their various properties in April 1889 to a new corporation—the Mount Vernon and Marshall Hall Steamboat Company—for a nominal price of $5.00 and privately held the corporation. This legal protection allowed the entrepreneurs to set about developing Marshall Hall, increase their audience, and rebuild their fortunes. It seems that they divided their responsibilities. Blake assumed responsibility for the steamships and McKibbin looked after the park

at Marshall Hall, even making the colonial house his personal home from 1888 until his death. This shift to a corporate status marked the beginning of a process that transformed the Marshall family's once laconic shoreline property into a frenzied popular amusement park.[20]

## From Picnic Grove to Amusement Park, 1890 to 1905

Blake and McKibbin significantly altered the picnic grove and sought to turn it into something quite unusual in the American landscape of the early 1890s. Adding what one deed called "the appliances of entertainment," the proprietors of the Mount Vernon and Marshall Hall Steamboat Company (MVMHSC) attempted to provide Washingtonians with a varied experience that included historical sites, a riverboat excursion, and the newest of thrill-seeking rides even as the two managers carried on the recent tradition of the picnic grove. The proprietors transformed the earlier emphasis on the middle-class ideal of nature with attractions that would appeal to both a younger adult clientele and folks beyond the middle class, a move that slowly produced an uneasy mixture of bucolic serenity and carnivalesque revelry. In spring 1892, a *Washington Post* reporter captured the changed experience:

> Everyone knows what an excursion to Marshall Hall is like—a ride down the majestic Potomac in company with the genial Capt. Blake and the other officials of the *Macalester*, a hearty welcome by the hospitable Col. McKibben to the old homestead of the Marshall family, planked shad, hot from the fire and washed down with foamy extract of malt or fragrant mint juleps, and afterward the various amusements of bowling alleys, rifle ranges, merry-go-rounds, strolling under the trees or loafing quietly in the shade which characterizes the happy-go-easy old hall.[21]

Ten years later in 1902, another reporter for the *Post* noted the changing class composition of Marshall Hall's visitors, even as he or she largely ignored the bowling alleys and carousel in favor of the bucolic sensibility of the riverside site. The reporter languidly described the "magnificent oaks" that shaded the "old colonial mansion," where "the broad veranda of the old Marshall house" nestled "large comfortable rocking chairs in plenty." If occupied, a visitor could go in search of other resting places, for "all through the park are seats and swings, hammocks and settees." This reporter took note of something more than the physical setting, though. He or she turned an artist's eye toward the people, some meandering and others cavorting through the park:

> At Marshall Hall one sees the tired business man, or department clerk, and his family lounging about on the grass and eating the dinner prepared at home and brought with them, while down at the café one observes the young


*Unidentified picnickers at Marshall Hall, 1893. (William Cruikshank, Library of Congress.)*

> man who has just begun to earn $100 per month [an annual salary of about $27,000 in current US dollars, suggesting that he is making frugal dining choices], or the man of wealth, enjoying a little outing, dining on sirloin or lobster a la Newburg. As they sit in the arm chairs on the balcony of the Marshall mansion they look at the river and the small craft skimming about over its surface from under the canopy of oaks.[22]

These two descriptions are notable for the ways they frame the constituencies to whom McKibbin and Blake catered. Both reporters focused on adults engaging largely in "adult" activities. Children might come to picnic with their parents, as those mentioned above. But the place of children at the amusement park was quite limited. The orphans and poor children were welcomed on the one day set aside for them but were not invited back as individuals. Sometimes special occasions brought a throng of children to the park, such as the 4,500 who attended the "joint excursion" of three Presbyterian Sunday schools.[23] But, beyond such singular events, McKibbin and Blake did not think of children as an audience for their park, or more bluntly, as a potential source of income. They did not set up a "kiddy land" (as later park managers would do) to appeal to those visitors largely incidental to the commercial

mission. The pleasures of the park, dining out and drinking alcohol, attracted adults. The second article further underscored adult orientation in its description of the two single men dining according to their distinctive class circumstances.[24]

The two *Post* articles also suggest the widening class appeal of the growing number and variety of amusements at Marshall Hall. The 1902 article starkly depicted two men at different ends of the class scale through their food choices, the one eating on a budget, the other splurging on sirloin or lobster. By 1900, the park received its second and third generation of Washingtonians. The young man in the café could easily have been Jake's or Potato's or Ice Cream's son. The years of hosting fraternal and professional organizations also made Marshall Hall a destination for the high and mighty of Washington society. Supreme Court Chief Justice Melville Fuller and Associate Justices John Marshall Harlan, David Brewer, and Horace Gray trekked to Marshall Hall year in and year out for the annual Shad Bake River Excursion of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia. They did not bring their grandchildren but played baseball with law clerks, spent time at the shooting gallery, knocked down pins in the bowling alley, swapped stories with lawyers and judges, ate planked shad, sang college songs, and enjoyed their visit "with youthful zest."[25]

The early 1890s had seemed to augur great things for McKibbin and Blake. They had ensconced themselves in positions of rather exalted status in the District. Their entrepreneurial concern brought them in close contact with residents of all ranks, and they became well known throughout the capital. The beginning of the decade signaled happiness for personal reasons as well. Blake finally married in 1886, at the age of fifty-six, and was blessed with two children by 1890. Colonel McKibbin also took a wife. At the age of sixty-seven he married a young employee of Marshall Hall, twenty-eight-year-old Aldisa Schrack. After a long wedding journey to Niagara Falls, Montreal, Saratoga, New York City, and Boston, among other places, the couple settled in the old Marshall family home. Aldisa enlivened the house with displays of her own oil paintings on the walls. By the end of 1891, Mr. and Mrs. McKibbin had become securely "domiciled in the quaint old mansion" on the banks of the Potomac.[26]

The uniqueness of these personal events underscored the well-established and leisurely routine of steamboats on the Potomac and summer entertainment at Marshall Hall. Blake's boats made two stops as they steamed down the Potomac, first Mount Vernon and then across the river to Marshall Hall, and the two sites complemented each other. The home of the first president attracted tourists from across the country and around the world. Visitors approached Mount Vernon in suppressed awe, proceeding in solemn reverence up the hill as patriotic pilgrims stepping on the nation's holiest ground. As an historic site, however, Mount Vernon did not allow for leisure and social activities such as picnicking, dancing, and sports. Often, excursion groups traveled to Mount Vernon for a somber ceremony of patriotic display and then jumped over to the park for fun, games, and relaxation. As a somewhat historic site in its own right, Marshall Hall offered a sense of continuity with Mount Vernon,

as if George Washington had given his imprimatur to mechanized versions of the hunt, riding wooden horses round the carousel, shooting rifles at paper targets, and bowling balls at imaginary armies of wooden pins.

McKibbin made history essential to the Marshall Hall experience. He shrouded the house with historical patina, if not outright myth, to link it to the distant past and posted a history of the property on the veranda of the house. This narrative puffed numerous false claims and gilded commonplace facts. McKibbin's "memoir of Marshall Hall" ran from the mundane—with claims that the giant May Pole had once been bedecked with spring garlands by "the gentle maidens and the gallant youths of colonial times"—to the fantastic. Thomas Marshall's hapless uncle Joshua Marshall, for example, became an English gentleman and the first of the Marshalls to emigrate to America. He had purchased the land from Randall Hanson, the original colonial patentee of the land, and built "a very pretentious and stylish log house, a regular castle, in fact." This Joshua Marshall, according to McKibbin's spurious history, set up a large slave plantation and, to protect his claim to the land, sought to perfect his title by securing a second deed to the land from the "original and first owners of the tract, the Piscattaway Indians," who at that time still remained in the area, by purchasing the land that he already owned from John Ackatamaka, "Emperor of the Piscattaway," for three thousand pounds of tobacco. As proof of these historical claims, McKibbin also displayed a purported "facsimile" of the deed from Ackatamaka for the Potomac shore property. All of this ran counter to the facts: Joshua Marshall was a native Marylander, and although he apparently did negotiate with Ackatamaka, he died a young man before he could actually lay claim to the land around Marshall Hall.[27]

McKibbin and Blake further added to Marshall Hall's historical patina with the purchase of the steamer *River Queen* in 1892. The ship's history included carrying Abraham Lincoln as he sought respite from the rigors of the Civil War and when he later traveled down the long Chesapeake Bay to Hampton Roads, Virginia, in February 1865, for a conference with Confederate negotiators (including Confederate Vice President Alexander Stevens) looking to end the war. McKibbin removed the chairs, desk, and two Japanese vases that Lincoln and the Southern representatives had used aboard the old steamboat and set them in the living room of the Marshall house as a shrine to the martyred president.[28]

The use of history enhanced the appeal of Marshall Hall as a site for large gatherings. The authority of the past suppressed the entertainment venue's potentially depraving influence on innocent youths and adults of weak character. McKibbin trumped up Marshall Hall's history, then boosted it further with furniture touched by the secular saint Lincoln, to balance the fears of religious and morally upright patrons. This balancing act was crucial in attracting certain groups of visitors. Religious organizations maintained strict limits on leisure behavior at the turn of the century, and long after. Into the 1920s, for example, the Methodist Church forbade

such activities as "dancing, playing at games of chance, attending theaters, horse-races, circuses, dancing parties, or patronizing dancing-schools, or taking such other amusements as are obviously of misleading or questionable moral tendency." The historical patina also drew political groups that could justify use of Marshall Hall as something more than a merely recreational site.[29]

Yet the site's success also depended on keeping pace with the latest popular trends in entertainment. McKibbin constantly altered the grounds and the attractions to increase attendance. In 1891, for example, MVMHSC added a dance pavilion to the picnic grounds. The dance floor, 125 by 65 feet, one of the largest in the United States at that time, boasted a surrounding eight-foot-wide gallery promenade. The walls, capped halfway up, maximized comfort and vistas, providing long views of the Potomac River for the dancers as they twirled around the spacious interior. McKibbin opened the 1891 summer season by dedicating the new pavilion on May 14 at a reunion gathering of California forty-niners. Apparently, construction was not complete, for he dedicated the pavilion a second time on July 11. On that day, Professor Schroeder's Orchestra played for dancers all day and into the night. The Washington Mandolin, Banjo, and Guitar Club serenaded voyagers on the *Corcoran* and a new MVMHSC ship, the *Macalester*, while also relieving Schroeder's players at the dance pavilion. The evening was topped off with a grand ball that no doubt was mobbed by excited Washingtonians.[30]

McKibbin underscored the historical significance of Marshall Hall by hosting numerous military encampments whose soldiers staged mock battles. In the summer of 1893, for example, 140 men of the Third Battalion of the District National Guard set up "Camp McKibbin" on one of the great lawns near the house. They pitched tents, took rifle and drill practice, staged a dress parade for more than two thousand spectators, and held numerous "sham" battles, many recreations of historic events, such as Sheridan's famous ride to rally Union troops at Cedar Creek in October 1864. Members of the 8th and 9th U.S. Cavalry camped out at Marshall Hall in the summer of 1894 and performed feats of horseback riding that rivaled those of the most popular entertainments of the day. According to an enraptured reporter for the *Washington Post,* "The impromptu bareback drills and feats of horsemanship by these troopers surpass even Buffalo Bill's famous Wild West Show." These encampments gave rise to some tension with local residents. Members of the Third Battalion failed to locate two local men named Clagett and Depro who had insulted some of the soldiers' wives and attacked two of the Guardsmen. When camp broke on a Sunday without the "local toughs" having been captured, the *Post* reported that there was "considerable sorrow in camp that the Sabbath could not be celebrated by a lynching."[31]

Groups of all sorts made Marshall Hall the destination of summer excursions, in even greater variety than during the era of Little's picnic grove. The site became a sort of register of the proliferation of organization-building during the Gilded Age.


*Camp McKibbin, Marshall Hall, 1893. (William Cruikshank, Library of Congress.)*

Memorable dates drew particular types of Washingtonians. The Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution joined forces to celebrate the 118th anniversary of Ethan Allen's victory at Fort Ticonderoga and advertised widely to encourage members and their families to sail to Marshall Hall on the *Macalester* for a series of related festivities. The Knights of Labor sponsored a Labor Day festival in September 1902 for 3,500 of its members, including representatives of numerous trades: carpenters, house painters, musicians, mineral water drivers, bakers, plasterers, mixed clerks, metallic and sheet iron workers, bakers' drivers, mixed wall scrapers, engineers, metal lathers, and fresco painters. This "distinctively family crowd," according to the *Post*, enjoyed a pig chase, an apple race, a three-legged race, a hundred-yard dash, a girls' fifty-yard race, a boys' egg race, and a sausage-eating contest. The big event of the day was the pig chase, in which twelve young men battled each other to win both the pig and the token $1.50 prize.[32]

Marshall Hall served other groups as well. Aldisa Schrack, Colonel McKibbin's long-time assistant manager, arranged an annual visit for the city's orphans, bringing hundreds of young boys out for a day of nature play every July through the early 1890s. In 1892, German immigrants used the services of MVMHSC to celebrate their loyalty both to the fatherland and to their new homeland. The North American Turn-

*Shad planking at Marshall Hall, 1893. (William Cruikshank, Library of Congress.)*

erbund (a German-American immigrant/patriotic society that advocated gymnastics and other physical activities) sailed on the *Macalester* to Mount Vernon to pay their respects to George Washington. In the shadow of the first president's home, Hugo Muench, president of the Turnerbund's national organization, called on all those present to "renew our pledges of unselfish devotion to human liberty and enlightened patriotism." He urged the audience to hold dear Washington's example of

> firm and unswerving devotion to public duty, his urbane bearing and kindly consideration toward those whom rank had placed beneath him, his modesty of personal demeanor, and, last and greatest of all, that grand republican spirit which made him spurn the thought of personal dictatorship or crowned royalty, and to voluntarily retire at the conclusion of two terms at the head of this country's Government to the no less exalted duties of private citizenship.

After this moment of homage, the assembled throng hopped back onto the *Macalester* for the short sail across the Potomac to Marshall Hall, and there "they spent the afternoon and evening in a genuine German good time." The crowd swelled as the *River Queen* brought down a second boatload of German Americans. The members of the Turnerbund then offered a gymnastics exhibition that included calisthenics,

vaulting, and running, and capped off the festivities with the prize bowling contest sponsored by the Washington Saengerbund Bowling Club. Such events apparently occurred with some regularity. Fifteen years later, for instance, more than a thousand German immigrants of the United German Societies, representing some twenty-three different social organizations, traveled to Marshall Hall for a day-long excursion that included singing German songs, eating food from the old country, and traditional games and pastimes.[33]

The Knights of Pythias used Marshall Hall in the summer of 1893 to raise funds for its mission of fostering universal peace and understanding. To attract a large audience, the Knights staged William Shakespeare's play *As You Like It*. Pythian Charles B. Hanford traveled to New York to engage actors for the production, among them Edwin Booth's nephew, Creson Clarke, and Alberta Gallatin, a nationally acclaimed actress and granddaughter of Virginian Albert Gallatin, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. A thirty-five member orchestra supported the cast and the outdoor stage was "brilliantly lighted with electricity." Mary Logan, widow of Civil War general and Republican politician John A. Logan, served as a leading patron of the event, underscoring its social significance.[34]

Outdoor meals of the nineteenth century often revolved around a local or regional delicacy, particularly at Marshall Hall. The Chesapeake was renowned for its vast production of shad, and McKibbin showcased the famous treat during the month of May. Liverpool, Marshall Hall's "celebrated negro cook," used purportedly ancient methods to create a dish that became as crucial to Marshall Hall's fame as was its proximity to Mount Vernon.[35] Liverpool employed "planking," supposedly an ancient Piscataway Indian cooking method that Joshua Marshall passed down to succeeding generations. Other reports suggest that the Marshall Hall cook brought the delicious and visually striking dish to the banks of the Potomac. As the *Post* noted in 1902, "It was not, however, until the captain [Blake] made a summer resort out of the place, and employed 'Liverpool' . . . that planked shad became a feature of the place."[36]

Shad planking was only one of several ways Marshall Hall visitors could satisfy their gustatory cravings. McKibbin had catered numerous excursions through the late 1880s and early 1890s. Then, in 1893, he opened a permanent restaurant next to the colonial house. The café, as contemporary reports refer to it, offered two styles, the old arrangement of the European plan (food items served à la carte) and a regular dinner available for the flat rate of seventy-five cents. On June 15, 1893, one could choose from a menu of tomato or chicken soups, Spanish mackerel, trout, salt water tailer [bluefish], roulette of lamb with tomato sauce, prime rib of beef and roasted spring lamb, potatoes, beets, tomatoes, green peas, tea, coffee, and English plum pudding.[37]

Visitors worked up their appetites playing sports on land and in the river. Amateur baseball teams met on the lawn in civil combat, and swimmers competed for

significant prizes. District swim champion Dr. F. W. Greenfell, for example, defeated the Navy's former champion, J. J. McCarthy, in both the 100- and 250-yard races held on September 5, 1896. Greenfell carried home a gold medal and the $1,000 wager he had made with McCarthy. More than two thousand spectators gathered on the banks of the Potomac to witness the Greenfell-McCarthy races. But most of the contests were spontaneous.[38]

The most celebrated sporting event at Marshall Hall occurred every year. McKibbin and Blake closed the summer season with a grand entertainment in which they wove together Maryland's heritage of horse racing with two strands of the state's history, slavery and Indians, that they invested with mythic sentiment. The gala event was a jousting tournament with youths on horses using wooden lances to collect tiny metal rings hung along a dirt course. These "Gala Days" harkened to symbols of the Old South, with its hoary claims to standing as the last bastion of the chivalric code of armor-clad feudal knights. But to ensure that the gala was thoroughly Americanized, McKibbin also claimed that "Emperor of the Piscattaway" John Ackatamaka (who supposedly sold Joshua Marshall the second deed to Marshall Hall) had founded the tradition of manly sports at Marshall Hall.[39] The *Post* reported that the emperor

> gathered together on the green lawns the most athletic of the young braves from all the neighboring nations of Indians and gave prizes of rich ornaments, with bows and arrows of elegant workmanship, to those who excelled in feats of strength and expertness. This annual custom, it is recorded, continued throughout the colonial period of Marshall Hall's history, varied, of course, by the higher civilization of the gentry who came to the green lawns upon the invitation of the Marshall who at the time was proprietary lord of the manor.[40]

Knights and ladies and the rabble of the Chesapeake realm gathered at the end of each summer (usually the first Wednesday of September) beginning in 1894. They came to see the medieval dress, witness the horsemanship of local young men, and revel in the pomp and circumstance of tournament officials, local politicians, music concerts, and a fancy ball. The day got underway just after noon. As many as twenty young men with *noms de guerre* such as "Maryland Boy," "Potomac," "Sweepstakes," and the enigmatic "In-the-eleventh-hour" brought their favorite horses and lined up for the competition. Although officials encouraged them to dress in period costume, the riders apparently preferred to wear contemporary clothing. Once on their horses, however, they rode like knights in the ancient lists. They clutched their lances, galloped hard round the course, and tilted at the metal rings that diminished in size each round until less than one inch in diameter. Honored guests officiated over the list—men such as W. T. Dement, a renowned veteran of the Civil War. Dement and his successors dressed in fancifully imagined costumes dripping with

plumage and draped with a crimson sash, supposedly reminiscent of King Arthur's court. The five knights with the greatest number of rings captured on their lances won the field, a small purse, and, most importantly, the right to crown the "lady" of their choice. After the crowns were laid, the honored orator of the day addressed the time-traveling throng. Sometimes they spoke to political issues of the day, but most often they paid homage to the chivalric deeds and legends of the days when dragons challenged knights who sat at vast round tables and pulled swords from stones.[41]

Judge Edward Stake, for example, gave the 1899 oration in which he "referred to the history of knight errantry from the time of the Crusades to the day of Don Quixote. He passed high compliments on the sport, and advocated the theory that it encouraged chivalry and respect for noble womanhood." The court led a procession into the pavilion where knights and their ladies danced to a wide variety of songs that Sir Lancelot and Guinevere could never have imagined, with contemporary titles such as "The Green Lawns of Marshall Hall," or "Macalester, Queen of the Waves," or "I Dreamed I Dwelt at Marshall Hall." The dancing ceased only once during the course of the evening, when a beplumed official would halt the merriment for a solemn ceremony, charging all present to choose the annual "queen of love and beauty." The queen chosen, the dancing resumed until the dancers no longer could lift their feet another step. Toward 11:00, all turned their attention to the river. There, McKibbin and Blake concluded the medieval evening with a decidedly anachronistic fireworks barrage.[42]

The crowds that came to the jousting tournaments were far more diverse than those who had ventured to the picnic grove of the 1870s. As many as eight thousand people thronged Marshall Hall to take part in and witness the festivities in the 1890s. They came not only from the District now, but also from surrounding Charles County, neighboring Prince George's County, and distant parts of Maryland. For the country jakes, the event marked the highpoint of the year, in effect a harvest celebration. The locals arrived, not by boat of course, but by horse-drawn vehicles. "The Maryland farmer was there with the old family carriage, with its bevy of pretty girls and freckle-nosed boys. The young gallants from the country had their best sidebar buggles and the best-looking damsels of the countryside." And whether one lived nearby or up the river in the nation's capital, one of the key draws was the lure of gambling on which knights would capture the most rings. The sons of the Maryland farmer tended to take the city fellows' cash, because, as a reporter observed, "their knowledge of the skill of the various horsemen made them walking 'dope books.'" The victorious knights, no matter the level of stakes bet on their skills, took home only a modest prize. The first place finisher in 1899 received, for instance, a modest $43.20.[43]

The hint of illicit dealings pointed to a larger problem Blake and McKibbin faced in maintaining their audience: contact across the gender divide. The long boat ride and picnic aura (recall the "stolen kisses" of antebellum picnic genre paintings)

freed adults from what historian John Kasson called "the normative demands" of conventional propriety and middle-class probity. McKibbin and Blake well knew that this atmosphere, particularly attractive to young adults still under parental authority, could rapidly descend into license if not licentiousness. The pair constantly feared that they operated one scandal away from disaster. Although their advertisements emphasized that the boats of the MVMHSC and the Marshall Hall site itself were free of rakes and grifters, the danger was ever present.[44]

New York Representative Amos Cummings was apparently well attuned to the potential for mashers (sexual predators) on the excursion to Marshall Hall. On board the *Macalester* on the evening of May 1, 1892, the congressman believed that a tall, handsome young man was "trying to flirt" with the women of his party. Cummings's anger rose until, crying out, "These ladies sir are respectable!" he "struck the stranger a terrible blow," as the Logansport *Daily Pharos* reported, and then struck him again. The victim's companions protested his innocence and proclaimed him to be a gentleman. The victim himself warned the congressman that he would soon receive a challenge to a duel. Fortunately for Blake and McKibbin, it seems the challenge was never sent.[45]

The pair's luck did not hold through the summer, however, and they must have been chagrined on seeing the headline in the July 13, 1892, edition of the *Washington Post:* "Bertha's in a Plight: So Is Her Sweetheart She Picked up at Marshall Hall." The article detailed a secret affair between twenty-six-year-old Peter Voight and Bertha Harbaugh, a minor. The pair met during the July 4 festivities at Marshall Hall and apparently fell in love at first sight. They spent the afternoon together, and the next evening as well. But too many prying eyes in the city prevented them from consummating their relationship. So, Bertha lied to her parents the following Sunday and claimed she was going to church. Instead, she met Peter. The two boarded the *Macalester* and chugged down the Potomac toward Marshall Hall—and into infamy. After disembarking onto the Marshall Hall wharf, giddy with anticipation, the two youths waltzed past the dance pavilion, ignored the picnic tables, and passed up the history lesson that hung from the Marshall family mansion. Then, as the *Post* report chastely put it, they "took a stroll in the country, and it was here that the young lady took her first downward step." The following day, Bertha's mother discovered her daughter's true Sunday destination and her purpose in going to the park. Within days the police arrested Peter for "carnal knowledge of a female under sixteen years of age." By early August, the *Post* reported that the couple had married and that, as a sort of wedding present, Bertha's mother had dropped the charges against her new son-in-law.[46]

Yet such scandals paled in comparison to the woes McKibbin and Blake began to face by the mid-1890s. Their attempts to boost attendance at Marshall Hall, while apparently successful in terms of absolute numbers, had only increased their burden of debt. In April 1893, they borrowed $25,000 to shore up their finances in advance

of the coming summer season. The next year they were forced to borrow more than $15,000 to pay off expenses related to building and furnishing the steamboat, the *Charles Macalester*. Their fortunes worsened, and in March 1896, McKibbin and Blake sold Marshall Hall at auction to satisfy their debts. A syndicate of District businessmen, represented by attorney Henry F. Woodward, bought the site for $46,000. But McKibbin and Blake did not lose Marshall Hall. Woodward's syndicate actually included Blake and other entrepreneurs who were already invested in MVMHSC. Once the auction was complete, the syndicate turned around and sold Marshall Hall back to Blake for a nominal price of one dollar.[47]

McKibbin's battle with Bright's disease necessitated and complicated these financial maneuvers. Worse, as he sank toward death in the summer of 1896, his young wife Aldisa succumbed to her own months-long illness and died on June 4, 1896, three months shy of their fifth wedding anniversary. Colonel McKibbin, bereft over her death, mired in debt, and ravaged by disease in his kidneys, died four weeks later.

The next several years were rough for Captain Blake. He did not become the sole master of the Mount Vernon and Marshall Hall Steamboat Company and its prime piece of real estate. Rather, he presided over the ruins of the corporation with a new board of directors under the close supervision of an array of creditors. Numerous court documents reveal that the company skirted bankruptcy often, was ensnared in debt, and slipped into receivership by 1897. Levi Blake lived another seven years, but by the time of his death he no longer controlled the company he and McKibbin had built, and the steamboats of the MVMHSC had passed out of his control. The properties would never again have the aura of domestic hospitality the partners brought to their venture. The boats, the mansion, the picnic groves, and the "appliances of entertainment" would be instead merely small parts of larger corporations, investments to be bought and sold and evaluated for their contributions to accountants' ledger sheets.[48]

## The Nature of Commercialized Leisure

The Marshall Hall amusement park reworked the landscape of the Potomac River. The old colonial house had once stood naked on the riverbank, attended by a handful of outbuildings, visually whispering of a gone world. By 1900, the house was obscured behind an added porch, overgrown trees, and a motley collection of towering entertainment appliances. Where the dock had moored only the occasional skiff at mid-century, it now received throughout the summer daily discharges of thousands of daytrippers. A new set of commercial concerns transformed the antebellum middle-class ideal of nature into one that no longer stood apart from the city but served as an extension of it. People used this nature differently, and the ways they used it raised important questions about the character of American culture.

The formation of crowds at turn-of-the-century amusement parks took place at a moment in which great numbers of Americans worried about the future of the

republic. The parks at Coney Island, in particular, stimulated nervous alarm over the ways Americans related to one another. The formation of crowds around such seemingly empty and worthless activities as those presented at Dreamworld, Luna, Steeplechase, and Sea Lion Parks seemed the perfect example of numerous ills in American society. Some critics worried that a new "mass culture" was subverting the possibilities for individual freedom. Others suspected that labor organizations and masses of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were overturning well-established social hierarchies. Yet others anxiously feared that "the crowd" became an unreasoning mass that threatened the very foundation of American democracy. James Gibbons Huneker, for example, charged that the crowd unleashed at Coney Island "sheds its civilization and becomes half child, half savage." The frenzied crowd, he maintained, "will lynch an innocent man or glorify a scamp politician with equal facility."[49]

Some critics found a positive note in the Coney Island crowds. As historian John Kasson observed, they "applauded Coney Island as a crucible of democratic freedom and equality, a cultural melting pot mingling individuals and races from all segments of society." Other critics could even see the parks as tools for cultural uplift (or at least as a benevolent form of social control). James Sizer, for one, noted that "Every natural person is interested in some form of amusement." Amusement parks could thus soak up the non-working hours of "ignorant people who do not know how to use the leisure which is suddenly [in the new industrial society] being thrust upon them." Education, he lamented, was not a solution. It required too much work. "The only way to uplift people," he declared, "is along the line of least resistance, by deed rather than by precept and theory. Amusement is this line of least resistance." In short, the great question raised by the advent of Coney Island crowds in the early twentieth century was whether this new, commercialized leisure was a virtue or a menace to a democratic society.[50]

Historians have continued this debate. Kasson was first into the lists with his seminal book, *Amusing the Million*. Although he offered a nuanced appraisal of the benefits and detriments of Coney Island's commercial culture, he ultimately condemned it as a harbinger of a "standardized," "conformist," and "manipulative" mass culture. More recently, Gary Cross and John Walton countered Kasson by characterizing the assembled throng at Coney Island as "the playful crowd." Coney visitors represent, they suggested, the positive outcome for a democracy in the "mixed, melded, and jumbled tastes and interests [that spanned] across classes and gender." This debate, however, is skewed by the fact that both sides base their conclusions on the study of a single case, Coney Island. Cross and Walton attempted to validate this focus by claiming that Coney Island provided "the model of the popular amusement resort/park for half a century." But if that is true, then Marshall Hall stands as a distinct exception, as do the countless smaller, regional, and local parks that dotted the American culturescape throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[51]

There were numerous, significant differences between the crowds, expectations, experiences, and meanings of Coney Island and Marshall Hall. First and foremost, the Coney crowd was fixated on titillation that was sensual if not sexual in nature. This meant adults only in the Coney parks. It also meant that, where picnic groves such as Marshall Hall or Kenny's Grove provided release from urban tension through relaxation, at Coney Island visitors found it in physical stimulation. George C. Tilyou, founder of Coney's Steeplechase Park, explained the allure of the amusements by emphasizing their sensual nature. "What attracts the crowd is the wearied mind's demand for relief in unconsidered muscular action." This action was not the mindlessness of physical labor. Rather, in rides such as the "Human Whirlpool," the "Barrel of Love," or the "Helter Skelter," it was the thrill of bodies thrown against other human bodies, strangers in intimate contact with strangers. When Fred Thompson, founder of Luna Park, praised the "carnival spirit," he just as easily might have called it "carnal sensation." Thompson and his fellow park founders avoided charges of licentiousness by characterizing their audiences as adult children, engaging in what historian Woody Register called "a dramatic reenactment of their lost juvenile primitivism." As children, these adults were thereby innocent of any untoward desires. The Coney parks also attempted to overwhelm the senses through "an architecture of pleasure." Parks such as Steeplechase were completely built environments that created a sort of reverse slumming. For the price of a ticket, Coney patrons could sojourn through gaudy imagined palaces of the well-to-do. Last of all, central to the power of Coney Island was its ability to foster and manage the pleasurable anxiety of crisis and the exotic. The parks competed against each other to produce spectacular calamities such as "Fighting the Flames" or the terrifying "Johnstown Flood," or imaginary journeys such as "A Trip to the Moon" or "The Streets of Delhi." Marshall Hall, by contrast, provided a far less overwhelming experience.[52]

The amusement park at Marshall Hall entertained a considerably smaller audience. The four Coney parks counted as many as six million visitors each season. Marshall Hall probably took in only a tenth of that number by the early 1900s. The scale of the built environment at Marshall Hall was smaller. The Marshall Hall house stood just two stories tall, and the Ferris wheel located nearby was not much higher. There were no grand spectacles, no symbols of pretended wealth. Instead, McKibbin and Blake added gravitas to Marshall Hall by playing up, and sometimes inventing, its ties to the nation's history. Where Coney Island was consumed with producing stimulating events, Marshall Hall combined the excitement of mechanical rides with a variety of opportunities for relaxation. These included the boat ride along the river, shaded picnic areas, and the ubiquitous rocking chairs with riparian views. Where bodily contact was encouraged at Coney, sensuousness was a threat at Marshall Hall, as it could quickly scuttle the park's reputation. Young folks might spoon on the decks of the *Macalester*, but the proprietors of the Marshall Hall

steamship company remained wary of sexually suggestive behavior and did not buy rides designed to titillate.[53]

Coney Island and Marshall Hall differed sharply in the makeup of their respective audiences. The crowd on the Potomac attracted a much wider variety of groups and entertained adults and children, and families. Coney Island drew adults to its playgrounds and allowed grown-ups to enact their juvenile primitivism. Moreover, Marshall Hall served a function quite unlike Coney in hosting large groups, from the throng of German Americans who participated in the North American Turner bund's 1892 outing to the three thousand union men and their families who ventured out for the 1902 Knights of Labor picnic. The social distance between the bar association and the Knights suggests that perhaps the most important difference between Marshall Hall and Coney Island lay in the range of social classes who patronized the parks.

Luna, Dreamworld, Sea Lion, and Steeplechase appealed to young adults of the working and middle classes, and Marshall Hall catered to virtually the entire population of Washington. If rough-neighborhood kids such as Jake, Shorty, Skinny, Potato, and Ice Cream came out on the charity picnic in the summer of 1880, so did Supreme Court Justices Fuller, Harlan, Brewer, and Gray for the annual D.C. bar association picnic. Whether the interaction of such disparate groups created a leveling effect is unclear. But it certainly made the community of Washington, D.C., up and down the social scale, visible to itself and sometimes resulted in misunderstanding, as with the altercation between Congressman Cummings and the mysterious stranger. At other times, it threw folks of distinctly different stations together. One diner in the Marshall Hall restaurant in 1902 might be on a budget while his neighbor at the next table ordered lobster a la Newburg. But after rising from their respective tables they could sit next to one other in the "arm chairs on the balcony of the Marshall mansion," as the *Post*'s reporter observed, and "look at the river and the small craft skimming about over its surface from under the canopy of oaks." A hierarchy of income did not, at least for a few moments, preclude a democracy of leisure. The one fellow could turn to the other and say with the Scottish poet Robert Burns, "a man's a man for a' that."[54]

The proprietors of the Coney Island and Marshall Hall parks attempted to widen the class appeal of their venues, with quite different dynamics. Coney Island was first associated with the low life of con games, saloons, repulsive sideshows, rowdyism, sexual harassment, gambling, brothels, and taxi-dance houses. Tilyou and his fellow Coney Island proprietors had to raise the reputation of their parks in order to draw in a skeptical middle-class clientele. The audience for the picnic grove at Marshall Hall in the 1870s and early 1880s had been middle-class, and McKibbin and Blake had to figure out how to appeal up and down the social scale to ensure their economic survival. Luna and the other Coney parks could limit themselves to a narrower demographic of young working and middle-class adults because New

York City had a much larger population than Washington, D.C. Thus, McKibbin and Blake had to create a "socially prismatic" park, diversifying offerings through a wider array of facilities and managing a more complex clientele. The park's heritage as a picnic grove rooted in the antebellum middle-class project of appropriating nature to its own ends allowed them to succeed.[55]

Marshall Hall and Coney Island also had vastly different relations to nature. Fences and other visual barriers surrounded the Coney parks, forcing visitors to turn their gaze constantly to the parks' interiors. New Yorkers who braved the beach outside the parks experienced, not wide expanses of bucolic shoreline but swarms of fellow city folk crawling all over each other to find a narrow sliver of sand. Nature remained ever-present at Marshall Hall. Fence-free, trees inhabited all areas of the park, and visitors could easily stroll from the rides, past the colonial house, into the picnic grove and open fields to the peach and apple orchards beyond. The Potomac park blended with the surrounding countryside as well with the slow procession of steamships that carried passengers on the hour-plus voyage to and from Marshall Hall.

Marshall Hall's heritage as a middle-class site for finding secular salvation in nature's nation played a central role in its later commercial successes. Dreamworld and its fellow Coney parks rushed headlong into modernity, but Marshall Hall went forward in two directions. As a commercial enterprise reliant on maintaining a socially prismatic audience and finding new customers, the park had to introduce innovative attractions. McKibbin and Blake's successors, for example, built a roller coaster and soon thereafter developed an entirely new focus on children as an income-producing constituency, while acknowledging Marshall Hall's deep roots in nature and history. Where Fred Thompson built Coney Island on the guiding principle that adults long to be children and that "grown-up children want new toys all the time," the wide expanse of the Potomac River, the old Marshall family home, and the park's close proximity to Mt. Vernon tempered the desire for novelty. McKibbin's fancied histories of the site anchored the park in time and endowed it with an ersatz historical tradition—no less charming for its rather tawdry sham, perhaps all the more appealing for its self-evident bluster.[56]

The merger with commercial enterprise after the Civil War extended and transformed the antebellum middle-class conception of nature as a place of spiritual respite and recreation. Marshall Hall and numerous riverfront parks helped shear off the religious vestiges of salvation from the picnic and played a significant role in secularizing nature and infusing the outdoor experience with amusements for Americans at all levels of society. Amusement, however, did not render the middle-class reverence for nature frivolous but offered it as a restorative, for the physical and not the spiritual of the antebellum version. The summertime outing into nature, whether to an amusement park or a pristine forest, cured the body of its urban ills. As a writer for *The World's Work* reported in 1902:

> We were alarmed a short generation ago [referring to George Beard's widely read 1881 treatise *American Nervousness*] lest we should all become nervous wrecks in the great centres of desperate endeavor. But the summer outing came to the rescue. It has added as greatly to the variety of life as to health. It brings hundreds of thousands close to nature who would otherwise regard urban residence as normal.[57]

By 1900, then, nature had become the guarantor of health, rather than a source of wealth.

Nature interpenetrated all aspects of Marshall Hall and thus fostered a very different experience from that found at the Coney Island parks. As a seat of urban activity surrounded by rural scenes, it served as a mirror to "rural" retreats such as Rock Creek Park surrounded by the city. McKibbin and Blake's annual jousting matches brought rural and urban people together. The park juxtaposed the bucolic nature of the river with the thrills of mechanized appliances of entertainment. The long slow voyage to the park down the languid Potomac, the murmuring churning of the steamship engines, the unhurried unfolding of the shore line, the honest enduring expanses of sky, the penetrating night stars—all suggested contemplation of the eternal. The park's rides fused the body to a technological present while throwing the mind out into a rapidly approaching uncertain future. But unlike Coney Island, the return to the river always followed antic play at Marshall Hall.

Coney Island fostered a culture of hedonistic youth. Its descendants have devised ever more awesome machines for hurtling bodies through space with standardized spectacles of splash mountains and kings' dominions that simulate nature and history while erasing their actual significance. If the proprietors of Marshall Hall sometimes stretched the truth about the site's own history, they nonetheless told a local history unique to the Potomac and in the shadow of Mt. Vernon. If visitors voyaged to the park on modern steamships, they nonetheless remained in the timeless presence of the great river. Unlike the consumers of today's theme parks, they could not divorce amusement from American nature.

THE AMUSEMENT PARK at Marshall Hall never rivaled Coney Island or later theme parks such as Disneyland in size, mass audience, or thrill rides. Rather, it remained relatively small and intensely local in focus and resembled hundreds of small amusement venues strewn across America's popular-culture landscape, from Kennywood in Pittsburgh to Wonderland in Minneapolis, Olympic Park in Maplewood, New Jersey, or White City Parks in Indianapolis, Shrewsbury, New Orleans, Oshkosh, and beyond. These parks survived at the whim of their small-time owners, the ups and downs of the local and national economy, and competition from other forms of entertainment. Marshall Hall, unlike most turn-of-the-century amusement parks, survived the Great Depression and two world wars but never turned a great profit.

After Blake and McKibbin gave it up, Marshall Hall passed into the hands of a series of commercial operators and consistently skirted financial disaster. The season, a mere four months each summer, left the park unused the rest of the year. Fickle audiences demanded new attractions that the owners could not always afford to add, and the rise of early twentieth-century competitors closer to Washington—Glen Echo, River View, Washington Luna, and Cabin John Bridge parks—remained a constant threat. Throughout the twentieth century, Marshall Hall maintained constants such as the river, the boats, and the end-of-summer jousting tournament. A succession of managers introduced new attractions including a wooden roller coaster in 1899, a Ferris wheel by 1905, new rides to appeal to children in the early 1900s, and a second (steel) roller coaster in 1949.

The heyday of the amusement park followed World War II. The power elite of the nation's capital continued to frequent Marshall Hall, as did a new generation of children freed from the economic constraints of the pre-war period. Legalized gambling drew their parents to the park, freeing children to scamper about the kiddie rides while grown-ups wandered into the Happyland building and tried their luck at the many "one-armed bandits."

The Maryland state government outlawed gambling in the early 1960s and activity at the park declined. The interstate road system enabled Americans to travel much farther for vacations and entertainment, and the rise of much larger amusement parks dwarfed what seemed in the "space age" to be the outmoded pleasures of Marshall Hall. These events, combined with the erratic, money-grubbing strategies of the park's last owner, Joseph Goldstein, doomed the park. The final blow came in 1974 when President Gerald Ford signed legislation that added the Marshall Hall property to the adjoining Piscataway Park to protect Mt. Vernon's viewshed of the eastern Potomac shore. The park fell into disrepair, the number of visitors plummeted, and on July 21, 1977, the park's main attraction, the roller coaster, collapsed in a wind storm. In 1979, the National Park Service elected to tear down all the remaining appliances of entertainment and remove all vestiges of the amusement park in order to return the old Marshall Hall mansion to its colonial state. The ghosts of history, though, remained with the property. Fire ravaged the house's interior and destroyed its roof in 1981 and, twenty years later, an addled truck driver drove his tractor-trailer rig through the hulk of the house. But for the meekly patched up brick walls of the Marshall house, a small outbuilding, and the nearby graveyard, the property—where thousands of city folk had once frolicked, picnicked, cavorted, jousted, gambled, and danced for over a century—is unrecognizable for what it once was. A visitor driving down lonely Bryan's Point Road would never know that here, not so long ago, was Washington, D.C.'s amusement mecca.

## NOTES

1. Perry Miller, "The Romantic Dilemma in American Nationalism and the Concept of Nature," in *Nature's Nation*, ed. by Elizabeth Miller (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1967); John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999); Angela Miller, "The Fate of Wilderness in American Landscape Art: The Dilemma's of Nature's Nation," in *American Wilderness: A New History*, ed. by Michael Lewis (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Thomas Cole, "Essay on American Scenery [1835]," in John W. McCoubrey, ed. *American Art 1700–1960* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), 102.
2. Cole, "American Scenery," 101.
3. *The Circular* (June 28, 1855): 90.
4. Angela L. Miller, "Nature's Transformations: The Meaning of the Picnic Theme in Nineteenth-Century American Art," *Winterthur Portfolio* 24, 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 1989): 113–38; and Mary Ellen W. Hern, "Picnicking in the Northeastern United States, 1840–1900," *Winterthur Portfolio* 24, 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 1989): 139–52.
5. Cited in Donna R. Braden, *Leisure and Entertainment in America* (Dearborn, Mich.: Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village, 1988), 25. For other types of nineteenth-century outdoor amusements involving food, see Braden, *Leisure*, 25–29; *Spencer Kellogg Brown, His Life in Kansas and His Death as a Spy, 1842–1863, As Disclosed in His Diary*, ed. by George Gardner Smith (New York: Appleton, 1903), 380.
6. William F. Mangels, *The Outdoor Amusement Industry: From Earliest Times to the Present* (New York: Vantage, 1952), 19, 23. Kenny's Grove would later be bought by Andrew Mellon and transformed into a bona fide amusement park. Renamed "Kennywood," the park is still in operation.
7. Reynolds J. Scott-Childress, "The House at Mistake: Thomas Marshall and the Rise of Genteel Culture in the Chesapeake," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 103 (2008): 352–81.
8. Charles County Land Records, Liber GAH 1:324–25; & 2:171.
9. "Decoration Day," *Washington Post*, May 29, 1878: 2; ibid., "Acres of Peaches," September 2, 1879: 1; "Down the River," ibid., August 5, 1878: 4.
10. The *Post* was founded in December 1877 and so did not cover the early years of Marshall Hall as a picnic grove; "City News in Brief," *Washington Post*, April 24, 1878: 4; "Decoration Day," 2; "The Flight of Pleasure Seekers," *Washington Post*, May 31, 1878: 4.
11. "The Order of Mechanics," *Washington Post*, May 2, 1880: 1; "Social Intelligence," ibid., September 19, 1880: 2; "Alexandria Annals," ibid., September 13, 1878: 3; "A Pic-nic for Charity," ibid., August 23, 1879: 1; "A Carnival in the Water," ibid., August 26, 1879: 4. This charity event ended far more successfully than Odlum's later attempt to popularize water sports: In 1885, he died in a daredevil plunge off the recently completed Brooklyn Bridge.
12. U.S. Census, 1880, E. D. 44, Pomonkey, Charles County, Maryland, National Archive Film Number: T9-0508, Page 463D.
13. Liber BGS 7: 391; Jennifer Kittlaus, Director of Research, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, personal communication, February 23, 2007.
14. "Jolly Potomac Captains," *Washington Post*, 16 October 16, 1892: 10
15. McKibbin and Blake first met in California. But the circumstances of their meeting and, indeed, much of their California lives are exaggerated. As a reporter once mockingly complained, the two "are so incessantly guying each other that it is almost impossible to get a connected account of their combined adventures." As an example, he reported that Blake

claimed the first time he ever saw McKibbin, the latter was "drilling for a blast in a mine shaft and the colonel retorts by telling of seeing the captain seated on a rock, waiting for an Indian to come along that he might have something to shoot at" ("Jolly Potomac Captains," 10). The Gold Rush loomed large in the two men's personal histories. They hosted annual meetings of the Society of California Pioneers of Washington at Marshall Hall throughout the 1880s and 1890s. See, e.g., "The California Pioneers," Salt Lake City *Daily Tribune*, May 15, 1887: 1; "They Sought for Gold," *Washington Post*, May 15, 1890: 2; "All Skilled Carvers," ibid., May 15, 1891: 2; and "The Gold Hunters of '49: The Surviving Pioneers and Their Friends at Marshall Hall," ibid., May 13, 1893: 2. McKibbin served for a time as the treasurer of the society; "Jolly Potomac Captains," 10.

16. John Owen, *The Journals and Letters of Major John Owen: Pioneer of the Northwest, 1850–1871* (New York: Edward Eberstadt, 1927), 2:67, entry for August 15, 1867; "The Territory," *New Northwest Deer Lodge Mountain News*, January 7, 1870: 1; "Jolly Potomac Captains," 10; "Capt. Blake a Forty-Niner: A Picture of the Captain of the Charles Macalaster," *Washington Post*, July 23, 1893: 9; "Death of Capt. L. L. Blake," ibid., May 14, 1904: 10; Owen, *The Journals and Letters of Major John Owen*, passim; Dorothy M. Johnson, *The Bloody Bozeman: The Perilous Trail to Montana's Gold* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), 198; Lenora Koelbel, *Missoula the Way It Was* (Missoula, Mont.: Gateway, 1972), 20. Much of the information in this biographical sketch was provided by Pat Close, an indefatigable chronicler of the Blake family. McKibbin is also mentioned in various materials relating to the San Francisco vigilance committee of 1856. See, for example, James O'Meara, *The Vigilance Committee of 1856: By a California Pioneer Journalist* (San Francisco: James H. Barry, 1887), chaps. 2 and 7. Even during these adventurous early years of his life, he managed to be a gracious host who could supply a sumptuous feast in the gruff wilderness of the Bitter Root Valley in western Montana. One early pioneer recalled how Blake "got up a splendid supper. Stewd Birds Roast Duck. Summer Squash &c. He is a prince of Caterers—A Splendid Shot & angler good company—Likes a toddy as all good men do." Such sumptuous feasts, however, only seem to have reminded Blake of a more placid life elsewhere.

17. A speaker at a reunion of forty-niners at Marshall Hall in 1890 recalled seeing McKibbin in Washington often as a child ("They Sought for Gold," 2). McKibbin's father Chambers McKibbin was an assistant quartermaster in Pittsburgh during Andrew Jackson's presidency and was a postmaster under President Polk. He later became a naval officer during the administration of his close associate, President James Buchanan, and served at the U.S. Mint and in the Department of the Treasury under President Andrew Johnson. For a while, he ran a steamship line between New Orleans and Havana, Cuba. While the exact time period of this exploit is not clear, it seems to have taken place before the Civil War ("Jolly Potomac Captains," 10). McKibbin's official biography as a member of Congress is available at bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=M000514. See also, Stephen J. Field, *Personal Reminiscences of Early Days in California, with Other Sketches* (Printed Not Published, 1893), and Henry Wilson, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1874), 2:564–65. On McKibbin's Civil War service, see Alexander Kelly McClure, *Recollections of Half a Century* (1902), 35–36; Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, *Campaigns in Kentucky and Tennessee Including the Battle of Chickamauga, 1862–1864* (1908), 248; C. A. Dana to Secretary of War E. M. Stanton, November 1, 1863, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, vol. 31, pt. 2 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1890), 54; ibid., ser. 1, vol. 52, pt. 1, 494.

18. An article in the *Post* in May 1878 notes that the *Arrow* and *City of Washington* would be sailing to Mount Vernon, thus suggesting that no ship had an exclusive right to the wharf

there at the beginning of the summer ("Decoration Day," 2). The Blake announcement appeared three months later ("Notice to Mount Vernon Passengers," *Washington Post*, August 8, 1878: 4); "Notice to Mount Vernon Passengers," ibid., May 19, 1881: 3.

19. Deed of September 29, 1884, Charles County Land Records, Liber BGS bk. 7:394–99; Charles County Land Records, Liber JST 1:179–83 and Liber JST 8:689.

20. Deed dated April 15, 1889, see Charles County Land Records, Liber JST 2:544ff. Although there is no hard and fast evidence that Blake and McKibbin divided their work strictly to the separate spheres of land and sea, the general sense one gets from reading the numerous articles on the pair in the *Washington Post* is that the two did indeed divide their responsibilities. This is further underscored by the fact that Blake listed his official residence as Washington, D.C., while McKibbin was a citizen of Charles County, Maryland.

21. "Fresh Planked Shad," *Washington Post*, April 4, 1892: 8.

22. "Obtained Two Deeds: How Title to Marshall Hall Was Perfected," *Washington Post*, July 13, 1902: 26.

23. "Big Sunday School Outing," *Washington Post*, 3 July 3, 1897: 2.

24. See too the mention of children coming with their parents to the 1902 Knights of Labor gathering ("Knights of Labor Outing: Thirty-Five Hundred People Spent Day at Marshall Hall," *Washington Post*, September 2, 1902: 2); "Big Sunday School Outing, "2.

25. "Guests of District Men," *Washington Post*, June 19, 1886: 1, for example, reported an excursion to Marshall Hall by the city's most eminent men, including Senators Blackburn, Hearts, Gray, Dolph, and Riddleberger as well as numerous Representatives; "Harlan Diamond Star: Justice Takes Honors in Baseball Game," ibid., May 10, 1908: 2; quotation cited in Loren P. Beth, *John Marshall Harlan: The Last Whig Justice* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992), 171.

26. "Col. M'Kibben Wedded," *Washington Post*, September 18, 1891: 5; "Memorable Close of a Memorable Season," ibid., October 11, 1891: 7; "A Forty-Niner Married," Fresno *Weekly Republican*, September 25, 1891: 4. It seems that Miss Schrack was an orphan from Ohio. She was widely celebrated for orchestrating annual visits to Marshall Hall by the orphans of the District. Among the few wedding guests listed in the announcement of her marriage to McKibbin, none are mentioned as her relatives. Last of all, Aldisa's 1896 obituary notes that she was thirty-three and had been born in Ohio. The 1880 census lists an Eldisa Schrack, born in 1862, in Ohio living with her grandmother, suggesting that she was orphaned either by the death of or abandonment by her parents.

27. "May Day at Marshall Hall," *Washington Post*, April 30, 1892: 7; "Obtained Two Deeds," *Washington Post*, July 13, 1902: 26. A quick comparison with the history presented in the early chapters of the present report will show just how spurious McKibbin's historical account was; Reynolds J. Scott-Childress, "History of the Marshall Hall Property," National Park Service Report (2007): 66–68.

28. "Steamer River Queen," *Washington Post*, April 30, 1892: 4; James C. Wilfong Jr., "Some Notes on Marshall Hall," Laurel *News-Leader*, January 10, 1957: 3. Wilfong based his article on an unnamed report from the Prince George's *Inquirer*, August 1, 1902. MVMHSC spent more than $16,000 renovating the old steamer.

29. Rules devised by the Methodist General Conference of 1872, meeting in Brooklyn, New York, cited in "Lifting the Methodist Amusement Ban," *Literary Digest* 81 (April 26, 1924): 33.

30. "All Skilled Carvers," 2; "Marshall Hall's New Pavilion Dedication," *Washington Post*, July 11, 1891: 5; "Midsummer Festival at Marshall Hall," ibid., August 12, 1891: 8; "Holiday at Marshall Hall," ibid., July 5, 1897: 10.

31. "Militia in Camp," *Washington Post*, July 31, 1893: 8; "Old Times on the Potomac," ibid., August 19, 1893: 2; "Ready for the Camp," ibid., July 27, 1894: 8; "Marshall Hall as a Military Post," ibid., July 27, 1894: 8; "Soldiers Play at War," ibid., August 1, 1894: 2; "Strike Tents To-Day," ibid., August 6, 1894: 5.
32. "Ethan Allen's Victory: Its 118th Anniversary to Be Observed by Sons of the American Revolution," *Washington Post*, April 23, 1893: 10; "Knights of Labor Outing," 2.
33. "Col. M'Kibben Wedded," 5; "Orphans at Marshall Hall," *Washington Post*, July 22, 1892: 7; "At Washington's Tomb," ibid., June 23, 1892: 5; "1,000 at Germania Picnic," ibid., August 17, 1908: 5.
34. "A Play Given as of Old: 'As You Like It' to be Presented at Marshall Hall," *Washington Post*, September 6, 1893: 5.
35. Braden, *Leisure and Entertainment*, 26; Shad, which typically weighs between two and three pounds, is a type of herring that comes upriver to spawn in the spring, with the season for capturing and cooking shad limited chiefly to the month of May. The late nineteenth century represented the peak in shad production. It has steadily declined since then. "Down the River," 10.
36. "Obtained Two Deeds," 26; "All Skilled Carvers," 2; "Springtime Glory," Olean (New York) *Weekly Democrat*, May 12, 1892: 4; "Springtime Glory" was reprinted in Marion (Ohio) *Daily Star*, May 16, 1892: 4 and the Evansville (Indiana) *Intelligencer*, May 18, 1892: 2. Liverpool organized a large pyre of oak limbs, each twenty to thirty feet long. He took hundreds of shad caught only hours before just off the shore in the Potomac and stretched them on oak planks that had been used and reused in the planking process for several years. Then, as a *Post* reporter described the scene, "[a]t intervals two stout colored men, inured by long practice to the heat, moved actively from plant to plank dabbing or basting the sizzling fish with a tempting mixture of sherry and Worcestershire sauce." (This mixture was Liverpool's prized recipe: he kept it secret, no doubt to increase the excitement over the dish, but also to retain some measure of power over his employers.) Once the slow cooking process was complete, Liverpool decorated the fish with flowers, such as spireas, yellow roses, and snowballs, and passed the dishes on to waiters who served the desperately hungry throng of visitors.
37. See, e.g., the arrangements made for the reunion of the California pioneers of 1849, "All Skilled Carvers," 2; "Menu at Marshall Hall," *Washington Post*, June 15, 1893: 4.
38. "Amateur Baseball," *Washington Post*, August 20, 1892: 6.
39. See, for instance, Mark Twain's famous gripe about Sir Walter Scott's influence on the South in *Life on the Mississippi*.
40. "Gala Days at Marshall Hall," *Washington Post*, September 4, 1892: 3.
41. Ibid., 3. Marshall Hall advertisements suggest the 1884 date as the first tournament. This would have coincided with Blake and McKibbin's purchase of the property. But historian Jason Rhodes lists 1895 as the first year of the tournament (*Maryland's Amusement Parks* [Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia, 2005], 94). It may be that he obtained this date from that found in the SMSC's finding aid for Marshall Hall (p. 4). But this document offers no proof for the claim.
42. "A Tournament at Marshall Hall," *Washington Post*, September 2, 1890: 7; "The Marshall Hall Tournament," ibid., September 3, 1890: 6; "Riding at Three Rings: A Score of Knights Appear in the Marshall Hall Tournament," ibid., September 5, 1890: 5; "Tournament Dances at Marshall Hall," ibid., September 2, 1891: 5; "Knights of the Tourney: The Days of Chivalry Revived at Historic Marshall Hall," ibid., September 8, 1892: 5; "Gala Day Down the River," ibid., August 30, 1893: 5; "As in Chivalric Days: Knights Joust for Fair Ladies at Marshall Hall," ibid., August 29, 1895: 2; "All Eager for Prize: Gallant Knights in the Tourney at Marshall Hall,"

ibid., August 24, 1899: 4. For more on the history of jousting in Maryland in the nineteenth century, see Kelley N. Seay, "Jousting and the Evolution of Southernness in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 99 (2004): 51–79.

43. "Gala Day Down the River," 4; "All Eager for Prize: Gallant Knights in the Tourney at Marshall Hall," 5.

44. John Kasson, *Amusing the Million: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 41.

45. "Cummings Was Premature," Logansport [Indiana] *Daily Pharos*, May 3, 1892: 1.

46. "Bertha's in a Plight: So Is Her Sweetheart She Picked up at Marshall Hall," *Washington Post*, July 13, 1892: 2; "The Wrong Righted by Marriage," August 6, 1892:4. The latter article ended on an ominous note, however: Peter and Bertha "were not yet living together . . . the girl being with her mother, while Voight is stopping at Meyer's Hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue."

47. Deed of Trust, MVMHSC to James Edwards and Job Bernard, Administrators for Central National Bank (William E. Clark as beneficiary), Charles County Land Records, Liber JST 3: 541–53; Charles County Land Records, Liber JST 6:390–400. They apparently paid off this debt by the end of the year. See Charles County Land Records, Liber JST 7:243. The D.C. court actually ordered MVMHSC to sell Marshall Hall the previous year, in the summer of 1895, but when no bids came in, the court delayed the auction for a year ("Sale of Marshall Hall," *Washington Post*, March 29, 1896: 11).

48. "Death of Mrs. Joseph C. McKibbin," *Washington Post*, June 5, 1896: 7; "Col. M'Kibbin Is Dead," ibid., July 3, 1896: 4; "Capt. Blake to Succeed Col. McKibbin," ibid., August 11, 1896: 10; Charles County Land Records, Liber JST 8:499ff; Liber JST 9:120–30; JST 9:202; Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, in Equity Cause 18,539, in Docket 43, June 15, 1897; JST 9:688–97; "Creditor's Petition Granted," *Washington Post*, April 19, 1898; "Order to Receivers," ibid., June 30, 1898: 10.

49. Cited in Kasson, *Amusing the Million*, 96; ibid., 95.

50. Ibid., 95.

51. Ibid., 105, 112; Gary Cross and John Walton, *The Playful Crowd: Pleasure Places in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 63. On the working class at Coney Island, see Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), ch. 5; Cross and Walton, *The Playful Crowd*, 5. This myopia is endemic in the small universe of histories that have investigated commercial leisure in the United States. They have focused almost exclusively on two parks: Coney Island and Disneyland.

52. Cited in Kasson, *Amusing the Million*, 58; Fred Thompson, "Amusing the Million," *Everybody's Magazine* (September 1908): 69. Woody Register takes a different view of Thompson, seeing him as something of a naïf in *The Kid of Coney Island: Fred Thompson and the Rise of America Amusements* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 116. As Thompson himself put it, "what grown men most want is to be transformed into children" (Richard Wright Kauffman, "Why Is Coney? A Study of a Wonderful Playground and the Men That Made It," *Hampton's* 23 [August 1909]: 221); Kasson, *Amusing the Million*, 63.

53. Jon Sterngass, *First Resorts: Pursuing Pleasure at Saratoga Springs, Newport, and Coney Island* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 229. This difference underscores the problem with claims such as Cross and Walton's that Coney Island was *the* model for amusement parks for the first half of the twentieth century. Marshall Hall provides a stark reminder of the limitations of claims such as Lauren Rabinovitz's that "The amusement park's modernity . . . lay not in its specific architecture but in its sensory over-stimulation—

its bombardment and exaggeration of sight, sound and kinesthesia" ("Urban Wonderlands: Siting Modernity in Turn-of-the-Century Amusement Parks," *European Contributions to American Studies* 45 [2001]: 85). A key aspect of that modernity was the way it incorporated both the past and its surrounding environment.

54. Cross & Walton, *The Playful Crowd*, 63, Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*, 128ff.

55. William R. Taylor, *In Search of Gotham : Culture and Commerce in New York* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 83; Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*, 125, 128.

56. The first mention of a roller coaster at Marshall Hall appears only in passing in an 1899 *Washington Post* article about the annual jousting tournament, "All Eager for Prize: Gallant Knights in the Tourney at Marshall Hall," *Washington Post*, August 24, 1899: 4. Thompson cited in Cross and Walton, 73.

57. Walter H. Page, et al., "The People at Play," *World's Work* 4 (1902): 23–77.

# The Civil War in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 1906–2009

STEVEN B. RHODES, Compiler

"Abraham Lincoln to Henry W. Hoffman," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 27 (1932): 42.
In a letter of October 10, 1864, Lincoln expressed support for the new Maryland constitution, especially the provision for the "extinction" of slavery.

Agle, Anna Bradford and Sidney Hovey Wanzer, eds. "Dearest Braddie: Love and War in Maryland 1860–1861." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 88 (1993): 73–88; 337–58.
Excerpts of letters between Edward Spencer (of Randallstown) and Anne Catherine Bradford Harrison (Mount Pleasant) in the months prior to the war. As the seriousness of the national crisis grew, their letters contained more political sentiments and news of war.

Allan, W. "Strategy of the Sharpsburg Campaign." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 1 (1906): 247–71.
An overview of the campaign by the former Chief Ordnance Officer, Army of Northern Virginia. Read before the Maryland Historical Society in 1888. A generally objective overview of the operations of the armies and the decisions of the opposing commanders.

Anderson, George M., ed. "The Approach of the Civil War as Seen in the Letters of James and Mary Anderson of Rockville." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 88 (1993): 189–202.
James Anderson was a clerk at the Treasury Department in Washington. His letters to his wife Mary spoke of events in the capital as the nation raced towards war. Mary responded by telling her husband of people's attitudes in Rockville, Maryland. James worried about money and the possibility that he might be required to take an oath of allegiance to the United States.

———. "A Captured Confederate Officer: Nine Letters from Captain James Anderson to his Family." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 76 (1981): 62–69.
A native of Montgomery County, Maryland, Anderson served as a captain in the 35th Battalion of Virginia Cavalry. He was captured in a skirmish

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near Harper's Ferry, Virginia in October 1862. Over the years, Anderson had the grand tour of Federal prisoner-of-war camps, being imprisoned at Johnson's Island, Point Lookout, and Fort Delaware. Most of his letters from 1864 describe the conditions—bad—at the prison camps. Also included is a letter from Charles Rozer to James's sister Mary describing Union actions, confiscations, and vandalism in Fairfax County, Virginia.

———. "The Civil War Courtship of Richard Mortimer Williams and Rose Anderson of Rockville." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 80 (1985): 119–38.

With the Civil War in the background, Richard Williams wrote an account of his courtship with Rose Anderson that included references to the war, including sighting J.E.B. Stuart in June 1863. Both Williams and his fiancé were natives of Montgomery County, Maryland, and the story of their romance provides a window to everyday life in the county during the war. The couple married in Rockville, Maryland, on November 15, 1864. Interestingly, Williams was loyal to the Union while his bride was pro-Southern.

———. "Growth, Civil War, and Change: The Montgomery County Agricultural Society, 1850–1876." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 86 (1991): 396–406.

Although this article covers the Civil War era, it does not have much to say about the war itself. Montgomery County fairs ceased for the duration of the war, and Union soldiers ruined the fairgrounds by using it as a camp.

Andrews, Matthew Page. "Passage of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment through Baltimore, April 19, 1861." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 14 (1919): 60–76.

A study of the local and national situation prior to the 19th of April, 1861, includes an account of the riot and the aftermath. The final consequence was occupation and martial law for Baltimore.

Ashcraft, Allan C. "Sidelights: Ft. McHenry in the Civil War." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 59 (1964): 297–300.

Primarily a letter from Pvt. Robert R. Moore, a guard at Ft. McHenry, to his mother, describing the fort. There is some description of conditions for the Confederate prisoners of war at the fort. Included is a labeled fold-out map of the fort.

Bailey, John W. Jr. "The McNeill Rangers Raid and the Capture of Generals Crook and Kelley." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 62 (1967): 47–63.

Bailey examines the raid on Cumberland, Maryland, of February 1865, in which Captain Jesse McNeill and sixty partisan rangers captured Union generals George Crook and Benjamin F. Kelley.

Bailey, Judith and Robert I. Cottom. "Book Excerpt: After Chancellorsville: Letters From the Heart." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 93 (1998): 353–65.

A compilation of letters between Pvt. Walter G. Dunn, 11th New Jersey

Infantry, and his cousin Mary Emma Randolph of Plainfield, New Jersey. After being wounded at Chancellorsville, Dunn recuperated in Baltimore. Subsequently, Dunn stayed on in Baltimore to assist surgeons after Gettysburg. Dunn described events in Baltimore including Harry Gilmor's raid in 1864.

"Baltimore and the Crisis of 1861." Introduction by Charles McHenry Howard. *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 41 (1946): 257–81.

These are the letters to and from Isaac R. Trimble regarding command of Baltimore paramilitary organizations formed after the riot of April 19, 1861, during the period April 21 to May 11. City authorities asked Trimble to take command of these volunteers and coordinate their activities as directed by the Baltimore Board of Police. Included is a list of the organizations he led.

Barbee, David Rankin. "Lincoln, Chase and the Rev. Dr. Richard Fuller." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 46 (1951): 108–23.

Three days after the Baltimore riot of April 19, 1861, prominent Baptist minister and pastor of the Seventh Baptist Church in Baltimore, Richard Fuller, visited with Lincoln in the company of others. This is an account of Fuller's conversation with Lincoln as well as Fuller's conversations and correspondence with Salmon P. Chase.

Bardsley, Virginia O., ed. "Frederick Diary: September 5–14, 1862." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 60 (1965): 132–38.

Excerpts from the diary of Frederick, Maryland, resident and southern sympathizer Catherine Susannah Thomas Markell. Written during the days leading up to the Battle of Antietam, the diary includes accounts of the comings and goings of Union and Confederate troops and leaders such as J.E.B. Stuart. The Markells were friends or acquaintances of many Marylanders in the Confederate army, including Bradley T. Johnson and Stonewall Jackson's aide Henry Kyd Douglas.

Beauchamp, Virginia Walcott. "Research Notes and Maryland Miscellany: Madge Preston's Private War." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 82 (1987): 69–81.

Excerpts from Mrs. Preston's diary, March to June 1863, with letters to her daughter May. Madge Preston's full story is the basis for *A Private War: Letters and Diaries of Madge Preston*.

———. "The Sisters and the Soldiers." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 81 (1986): 117–33.

In late June 1863, the Civil War came to St. Joseph's Academy and the adjacent convent in Emmitsburg, Maryland. Both armies visited the academy and left the school the poorer. The soldiers requisitioned supplies while cavalry horses grazed the academy's fields. Soldiers camped in and around the school. After the Battle of Gettysburg, a number of the sisters and one

of the chaplains, Father Burlando, went to the battlefield and assisted in caring for the wounded.

Beirne, Rosamond Randall, ed. "Three War Letters." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 40 (1945): 287–94.

One letter each from Maryland soldiers in the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Civil War. The Civil War letter is from John Eager Howard Post of the 1st Maryland Infantry. In it, Post described Jackson's Valley Campaign (290–94).

Belz, Herman. "Henry Winter Davis and the Origins of Congressional Reconstruction." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 67 (1972): 129–43.

Political maneuvering and developments in Congress from 1862 to 1864 that led to Reconstruction policies. Henry W. Davis has been credited with authoring the Wade-Davis bill. Although it may have reflected his own opinions and ideals, Davis may not have been the author.

Blassingame, John W. "The Recruitment of Negro Troops in Maryland." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 58 (1963): 20–29.

An overview of the problems involved in recruiting Maryland slaves into the Union army. Such recruitment was opposed by both the Maryland governor and slave owners. The article describes their efforts to block recruitment. Eventually, the Federals allowed the enlistment of slaves without the master's consent.

Bloomfield, Maxwell. "Wartime Drama: The Theater in Washington (1861–1865)." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 64 (1969): 396–411.

When the Civil War began, Washington City boasted but one theater. The demand for entertainment grew in the capital with the increased military population. As a result the number of legitimate theaters grew as did the number of music halls.

Bombaugh, Charles C. "Extracts from a Journal Kept During the Earlier Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 5 (1910): 301–26.

Bombaugh was the surgeon of the 69th Pennsylvania Infantry. He recounted his service and that of the regiment up to and including the Peninsula Campaign. Among other operations, the 69th served around Point of Rocks and Poolesville, Maryland.

Brand, F. W. "The Capture of the *Indianola*." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 4 (1909): 353–61.

In February 1863, Confederates captured the Federal ironclad gunboat *Indianola* on the Mississippi River. Several Marylanders were involved in the action, including Maryland artillerymen and brigadier general Joseph L. Brent of Charles County.

Brown, W. McCulloh. "Fort Frederick." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 18 (1923): 101–8.

A history of the fort from its origin to 1923. The Civil War period at Fort Frederick is covered on pages 105–6.

Canan, H. V. "Confederate Military Intelligence." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 59 (1964): 34–51.
An overview of Confederate espionage efforts. The Signal and Secret Service Bureau of the Confederate War Department was directed by Major William Norris, a Baltimore native.

Carroll, Daniel B. "Henri Mercier on Slavery: The View of a Maryland-Born Diplomat, 1860–1863." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 63 (1968): 299–310.
Henri Mercier was the French minister to the United States from 1860 to 1864. The son of a Louis XVIII consul to the United States, Mercier was born in Baltimore. These are his views regarding slavery and the Emancipation Proclamation.

Clark, Charles B. "Baltimore and the Attack on the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, April 19, 1861." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 56 (1961): 39–71.
The events leading up to the riot of April 19, 1861. The riot is described as well as the aftermath, ending with the Federal occupation of Maryland.

———. "Politics in Maryland during the Civil War." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 36 (1941): 239–62, 381–93; 37 (1942): 171–92, 378–99; 39 (1944): 149–61, 315–31; 40 (1945): 233–41, 295–309; 41 (1946): 132–58.
An extensive and scholarly discussion of politics in Maryland before and during the Civil War. Includes an examination of the issue of slavery as practiced and perceived in Maryland.

———. "Recruitment of Union Troops in Maryland, 1861–1865." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 53 (1958): 153–76.
An overview of the difficulties faced by state authorities in recruiting for the Union and later, dealing with the draft.

———. "Suppression and Control of Maryland, 1861–1865: A Study of Federal-State Relations During Civil Conflict." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 54 (1959): 241–71.
Because of its location and some Southern sentiment, Maryland, and Baltimore in particular, endured a strong Federal military presence for most of the war. Under martial law, Federal authorities arrested leading citizens and law makers, composers and publishers. The focus of the article is how occupation affected Baltimore during the war.

Clemens, Thomas G., ed. "The 'Diary' of John H. Stone First Lieutenant, Company B, 2nd Maryland Infantry, C.S.A." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 85 (1990): 109–43.
Letters from John Stone to his sister for the period June 1862–July 1863, primarily regaling his sibling with the mundane details of camp life. From late September to December 1862, Stone's unit quartered near Winchester, Virginia. In December 1862 the unit was ordered to New Market, Virginia. The following June, Stone took part in the Gettysburg campaign.

Colburn, Edward. "A Baltimore Rebel, 1861." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 55 (1960): 243.

A letter from Rev. Edward A. Colburn to this father Dr. Harvey Colburn regarding the November 18, 1861 arrest of Jacob Enfield for displaying a Rebel flag. Young Colburn disagreed with the arrest and asked his father if anything could be done.

Colburn, Harvey. "A Family Letter with Views on Lincoln, 1862." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 53 (1958): 75–78.

On January 16, 1862, Dr. Harvey Colburn of Baltimore wrote to his son Rev. Edward A. Colburn of Deer Creek Parish, Harford County, Maryland. In the letter, the judge makes an argument to his son regarding Lincoln's good points.

Colston, J. A. Campbell. "An Old Letter and an Epitaph." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 51 (1956): 158–60.

A letter dated June 4, 1861, from William E. Colston, Company B, Maryland Guard, attached to the 21st Virginia Infantry in Suffolk, Virginia, to his brother Fred. The letter is followed by the epitaph of William who was killed in a dawn assault on Loudoun Heights, Virginia, January 10, 1864.

"Correspondence of New York Editors with Governor Bradford." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 3 (1908): 176–78.

Letters to and from Augustus W. Bradford in September 1864 regarding whether or not Bradford thought Lincoln could carry the state in the 1864 election. Bradford did.

"Cover Picture: Allen C. Redwood, Confederate Illustrator." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 54 (1959): 293–95.

Allen C. Redwood served with the 1st Maryland Cavalry and the 55th Virginia Infantry. He was educated in Baltimore private schools and in Brooklyn, New York. After the war, Redwood was a professional illustrator and writer. The cover picture portrays a Confederate boxing match at the Fort Delaware prison camp, one of fifteen Redwood sketches owned by the Maryland Historical Society.

Culver, Francis B. "War Romance of John Thomas Scharf." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 21 (1926): 295–302.

During the war, John Thomas Scharf was in the Confederate navy. While stationed at Savannah, Scharf met and became enamored with fifteen-year-old Anna Wylly Habersham. Unfortunately, the romance was doomed, as Anna felt only friendship for Scharf. Most of the story is told through entries from Anna's diary. After the war, Scharf became a noted Maryland historian. The article also relates Scharf's war record in brief.

Cunz, Dieter. "The Maryland Germans in the Civil War." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 36 (1941): 394–419.

The response of the Maryland German community to the Civil War, both

political and military. On the whole, Maryland Germans supported the Union.

Curl, Donald Walter. "Baltimore Convention of the Constitutional Union Party." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 67 (1972): 254–77.

A description of the events surrounding the nomination of John Bell and Edward Everett as presidential and vice presidential nominees for the Constitutional Union Party. After the split of the Democratic Party, the Constitutional Union Party became the fourth political organization to field candidates in the 1860 race. Their convention was held at the First Presbyterian Church building at Fayette and North Streets in Baltimore.

———, ed. "A Report from Baltimore." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 64 (1969): 280–87.

In May 1861, Murat Halstead, editor of the *Cincinnati Commercial*, reported from Baltimore. Halstead observed Baltimore as an occupied city but deemed it necessary, for he judged one-third of the population to be secessionist. He described the defenses of Baltimore and found the city "strangely quiet."

Daniel, W. Harrison. "The Effects of the Civil War on Southern Protestantism." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 69 (1974): 44–63.

At the time of the war, the South was predominantly Protestant. Many Protestant ministers were openly pro-Confederate. Not surprisingly, the war took its toll on Protestant churches. Membership declined, church presses were confiscated, and churches were destroyed. Protestant ministers were arrested, and although most were later released without condition, some were forced to take an oath of allegiance to the United States. Communications between the church hierarchy and ministers were disrupted by carnage, destruction, and poor mail service. At the end of the war, the Protestant denominations faced "major rebuilding."

Dannett, Sylvia G. L. "And the Show Went On . . . in the Confederacy." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 61 (1966): 105–19.

Theatre and the entertainment industry thrived in the Confederacy during the war. Professional actors throughout the South, in places such as the Richmond Theatre, entertained audiences despite hardships and growing deprivations. Amateur theatrical groups were popular as well and performed in the home.

Davis, Curtis Carroll. "The Craftiest of Men: William P. Wood and the Establishment of the United States Secret Service." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 83 (1988): 111–26.

During the war, Wood was superintendent of the Old Capitol Prison, a Federal penitentiary. In addition, Wood performed special duties for Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, including apprehending counterfeiters.

In July 1865, Wood was transferred to the Treasury Department and began operating the Secret Service.

———. "'The Pet of the Confederacy' Still?: Fresh Findings about Belle Boyd." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 78 (1983): 35–53.

Born in what is now West Virginia, and educated at Mount Washington Female College in Baltimore, Belle Boyd won renown as a Confederate spy. The article follows the career of Boyd and concludes that she made valuable contributions to the Southern cause, but was neither superhuman nor the most effective spy for the Confederacy.

———. "In Pursuit of Booth Once More: A New Claimant Heard From." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984): 220–34.

Following Lincoln's assassination, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton charged William P. Wood, superintendent of the Old Capitol Prison, with apprehending John Wilkes Booth. The trail led Wood through southern Maryland, where he interviewed Mary Surratt's sister Zaddock Jenkins, among others. Although he was on the right track, Wood's efforts came to naught. Wood later made an unsuccessful claim on the prize money for Booth's capture.

Davis, Stephen and Robert Pollard III. "Allen C. Redwood and Sophie Bledsoe Herrick: The Discovery of a Secret Significant Relationship." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 85 (1990): 256–63.

A discovery of letters to Redwood reveals a close relationship with Sophie Herrick, daughter of Albert Thayer Bledsoe. A former Confederate soldier, Redwood is best known for his work as an illustrator of the war in the years after the conflict. Herrick was an editor of the *Southern Review* magazine (1877–1879) and thereafter a staff member of Scribner's publishing and *Century Magazine*. The relationship between Redwood and Herrick developed from 1870 when he was her art instructor.

Duncan, Richard R. "Bishop Whittingham, the Maryland Diocese, and the Civil War." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 61 (1966): 329–47.

Bishop William Robinson Whittingham of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland opposed secession. Because of this opposition, Whittingham supported some of the more heavy-handed government policies, such as arbitrary arrests and suspension of civil liberties. In spite of his stance, a number of Episcopalian clergymen in Maryland were pro-Southern and some were arrested by Federal authorities.

———. "The Impact of the Civil War on Education in Maryland." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 61 (1966): 37–52.

The war severely disrupted higher education in Maryland. Students and faculty left in droves to fight. Campuses were occupied by Federal troops. Pro-Southern or suspected sympathizers among faculty and students were

arrested by government authorities. The 1862 graduation ceremonies at the University of Maryland turned into a near riot as the audience and students displayed their sympathies.

———. "Maryland Methodists and the Civil War." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 59 (1964): 350–68.

In the Maryland Methodist church there was disagreement over slavery. Officially, the Methodist Church opposed slavery, following an 1860 decision by the Methodist General Conference in Buffalo, New York. Maryland was a slaveholding state, however, and not a few Methodist parishioners were slave owners.

———. "Maryland's Reaction to Early's Raid in 1864: A Summer of Bitterness." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 64 (1969): 248–79.

An overview of Jubal Early's invasion and Maryland's response. The raid caused considerable disruption and no small amount of damage. In addition, Early ransomed towns under threat of burning. After defeating Union Gen. Lew Wallace at the Battle of the Monocacy, Early assaulted Washington defenses in Maryland.

Durkin, Joseph T. "The Thought that Caused a War: The Compact Theory in the North." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 56 (1961): 1–14.

Ideological causes of the Civil War, particularly the concept that the government ruled only with the consent of the people. According to Durkin the Northern argument against secession was weakened by attacks on Federal policy and authority including threats by Northern states to secede in the decades preceding the Civil War.

Earp, Charles A. "The Amazing Colonel Zarvona." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 34 (1939): 334–43.

When he fought with Garibaldi in Italy, Richard Thomas of St. Mary's County took the nom de guerre of Zarvona. Back in the United States in time for the Civil War, Zarvona organized a group of Zouaves for service with the Confederacy. He and his Zouaves took part in a scheme to seize the ship *Saint Nicolas* and other vessels on the Chesapeake. Commissioned a colonel in Virginia forces in recognition of his service, Zarvona was captured trying to repeat the success. He was released from prison in April 1863 in poor health.

———. "Death of a Soldier." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, v.93 (1998): 348–52.

Letters from Isaac W. Lashley, 8th Maryland Infantry, to parents after being wounded in the chest, May 1864. Additional letters from nurse Caroline H. Merrick and a friend of Lashley's informing Lashley's parents of his death.

Ellenberger, Matthew. "'Whigs in the Streets?': Baltimore Republicanism in the Spring of 1861." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 86 (1991): 23–38.

In this case republicanism refers not to the political party but to the concept of a republic. Ellenberger examines the changing political ideals of Baltimore before and after the riot of April 19, 1861. The importance of businessmen and commerce to the city gradually overshadowed the influence of those who still held republicanism to be important. In the wake of the riot, commerce eclipsed this influence.

Fielding, Geoffrey W., ed. "Gilmor's Field Report of his Raid in Baltimore County." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 47 (1952): 234–40.

As part of Jubal Early's invasion of Maryland in the summer of 1864, Harry Gilmor was to cut the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad at Magnolia, Maryland. This is a brief study of the campaign followed by a reprint of Gilmor's official report.

Forbes, Charles P. "A 'Minute' Regarding Major Harry Gilmor." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 89 (1994): 469.

From the Minute Book of the Boundary Avenue Presbyterian Church, Baltimore, the notice of a private communion for Harry Gilmor (January 17, 1883).

Frasure, Carl M. "Union Sentiment in Maryland, 1859–1861." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 24 (1929): 210–24.

A discussion of pro-Union sentiment in Maryland in the years prior to the war. The actions of Gov. Thomas Hicks, as southern states seceded are examined, as is the reaction of Marylanders to Lincoln's election. Union sentiment in Maryland swelled as the states of the deep South seceded. Given public opinion, Hicks was confident enough that he refused to call up the legislature to debate the possibility of secession for Maryland.

Gaddy, David Winfred. "John Williamson Palmer: Confederate Agent." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 83 (1988): 98–110.

Offers the opinion that John W. Palmer, Baltimore native and war correspondent for the *New York Tribune,* was a Confederate spy. Gaddy's suspicion is based in part on Palmer's excellent sources for his stories, his laudatory poem "Stonewall Jackson's Way," and the fact that Palmer joined and defected to the Confederacy after a falling out with his editor at the *Tribune* in 1863.

———. "William Norris and the Confederate Signal and Secret Service." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 70 (1975): 167–88.

Native Marylander William Norris began his war career as a civilian aide to John Bankhead Magruder. In this capacity, Norris developed a signal system for communicating with troops in the field that involved the use of flags and colored balls. Always impressed by cleverness, Magruder recommended that Norris be commissioned a captain and signal officer of the Army of the Peninsula. When the Confederate Signal Corps was established in 1862, Norris was named as head. In addition to waving flags,

signalmen also served as scouts and couriers behind enemy lines. Later in the war, the operations of the Secret Service Bureau were entrusted to Norris as well.

Gaede, Frederick. "Maryland Prisoners in the Baltimore City Jail, 1864." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 89 (1994): 467–68.

Two contracts, May and November 1864, between the U.S. Army Quartermaster Department and other parties for the receipt of 500 prisoners and provisions for the Baltimore City jail.

George, Joseph Jr. "The Trials of John H. Surratt." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 99 (2004): 16–49.

George covers the attempts by the Federal government to link Marylander Surratt to the Lincoln assassination. In the process, George carefully examines the trial testimony providing details of Surratt's ordeal after he returned to the United States in 1867.

Goddard, Henry P. "Some Distinguished Marylanders I Have Known." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 4 (1909): 24–41.

Goddard relates Civil War anecdotes and memories of Judge Hugh L. Bond of Baltimore, Bradley Johnson, Henry Kyd Douglas, Charles Marshall, Charles Phelps, and George Blach, to name a few.

Gray, Ralph D. "'The Key to the Whole Federal Situation': The Chesapeake and Delaware Canal in the Civil War." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 60 (1965): 1–14.

An explanation of how the C&D Canal helped save Washington in the early days of the war by serving as a means of transport and communication. Also its further usefulness to the Union cause throughout the war.

Greeman, Betty Dix. "Democratic Convention of 1860: Prelude to Secession." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 67 (1972): 225–53.

Political maneuvering in the Democratic Party, from the Charleston convention of 1860 to the Baltimore convention the same year. It was during the Baltimore convention that the party split with the Southern Democrats, who left the convention *en mass*.

Green, Fletcher M. "A People at War: Hagerstown, 1863." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 40 (1945): 251–60.

A brief overview of Hagerstown during the war from the diary of twenty-two-year-old Miss Mary Louisa "Lutie" Kealhoffer, during the period June 21–August 31, 1863. The focus of the diary is the Gettysburg campaign. Miss Kealhoffer was the daughter of George Kealhoffer, president of the Hagerstown Gas Light Company. She was a Confederate sympathizer.

Harvey, Katherine A. "The Civil War and the Maryland Coal Trade." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 62 (1967): 361–80.

Initially hard pressed due to disruptions on the B&O Railroad, Maryland coal companies ultimately benefited from the war because government

demands for coal increased as the war went on. By 1864 the coal companies had raised miners' wages. In 1865, in its second year of operation, the Central Coal Company was paying stock dividends of five percent.

Henig, Gerald S. "Henry Winter Davis and the Speakership Contest of 1859–1860." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 68 (1973): 1–19.

A study of the events surrounding election of the Speaker of the House in 1860. Davis voted for the Republican candidate, William Pennington. According to the author, Davis believed that Pennington's selection would lead to an alliance between the Republicans and anti-slavery Democratic factions in the South.

Hollyday, Frederic B. M., ed. "Running the Blockade: Henry Hollyday Joins the Confederacy." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 41 (1946): 1–10.

The story of how Henry Hollyday of Queen Anne's County and a friend traveled overland and across the Chesapeake Bay to Richmond, Virginia. A good depiction of the difficulties facing a Marylander attempting to join the Confederate war effort.

Hopkins, C. A. Porter, ed. "An Extract from the Journal of Mrs. Hugh H. Lee of Winchester, Va., May 23–31, 1862." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 53 (1958): 380–93.

This portion of Mrs. Lee's journal covers the entrance of Stonewall Jackson's troops into Winchester after months of Federal occupation. Lee gives a very dynamic and colorful account of the Union troops' departure and the arrival of Confederates. Moreover, enthusiasm for Jackson knew no bounds. During the week covered by the diary excerpt, several Maryland soldiers visited with Mrs. Lee and her neighbors, including "Randy" McKim, Capt. Murray and Gen. Bradley Johnson to name a few. Mrs. Lee had a high opinion of the Maryland soldiers.

———. "The James J. Archer Letters: A Marylander in the Civil War." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 56 (1961): 72–93; 125–49; 352–83.

James J. Archer was first a regimental and later a brigade commander in the Army of Northern Virginia. As a brigadier general, Archer commanded troops from Tennessee. Captured at Gettysburg, Archer was imprisoned at Johnson's Island and exchanged in 1864. Archer died in Richmond later that year as a result of his imprisonment. These are his wartime letters including ones written at Johnson's Island.

Hoyt, William D. Jr., ed. "Thomas John Claggett: Arrest and Imprisonment, 1861–1862." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 47 (1952): 128–34.

Thomas Claggett was a member of the Maryland House of Delegates. On the night of September 17, 1861, Claggett was arrested along with eighteen other members on suspicion of disloyalty to the government. The abstracts are of letters from Claggett during his imprisonment. Claggett was paroled March 29, 1862.

Hurst, Harold W. "Rebels on the Border: Southern Sympathizers in Civil War Frederick County." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 99 (2004): 205–15.

A fine essay assessing the breadth of Southern sympathies in Frederick and identifying soldiers, churches, women, politicians, and newspaper editors of the Southern persuasion. Hurst shows that as a group the pro-Southern block in Frederick were more vocal than Unionists and their opinions remained unchanged to the end of the war, but they accounted for but a third of the county's population.

Hutchinson, Jack T. "Notes and Queries: Number of Men Maryland Supplied to the Union and Confederate Armies." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 63 (1968): 442–43.

Breakdown of numbers for Marylanders who served with Union Forces. Percentages for Union and Confederate service by Maryland natives.

Isacsson, Alfred. "John Surratt and the Lincoln Assassination Plot." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 52 (1957): 316–42.

Briefly explores Surratt's Civil War service and examines what part, if any, he played in the assassination of Lincoln. Article also details Surratt's escape from the United States authorities, his discovery in Rome and subsequent apprehension, and his trial.

Ives, William M. and B. Latrobe Weston. "Winchester and Baltimore: A Forgotten Page of History." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 29 (1934): 21–24.

Reprint of article from the *Winchester News*, October 19, 1866. In the fall of 1864 and the winter of 1864/1865, Baltimore provided Winchester, Virginia, with food and material aid through the efforts of Mrs. J. Harman Brown (Margaret Brown) of Baltimore. Mrs. Brown's lovely daughter Mrs. John N. Bell lived in Winchester. In addition, financial aid was provided when a number of Baltimore merchants and individuals subscribed and became stockholders in the creation of the Shenandoah Valley National Bank of Winchester.

James, William H. "Blue and Gray: A Baltimore Volunteer of 1864," part I, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 36 (1941): 22–33.

William H. James served in the 11th Maryland Volunteer Infantry (U.S.) during the war. These are his experiences in the Union army including an account of the Battle of the Monocacy.

Keidel, George C. "Jeb Stuart in Maryland, June 1863." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 34 (1939): 161–64.

Keidel follows Stuart and the cavalry division from the point they crossed the Potomac on the night of June 27, 1863, to their exit from the state on June 30. Unlike most histories of the Gettysburg campaign, Keidel's narrative does not criticize Stuart for leaving Lee blind. Rather, Keidel focuses on the cavalry's accomplishments over the three days and emphasizes how often Stuart came in close proximity to Union forces.

Kelley, William J. "Baltimore Steamboats in the Civil War." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 37 (1942): 42–52.

The participation of Baltimore steamers in the war included serving as supply ships, transporting troops for both sides, and blockade duty. The federal government purchased, leased, and commandeered the vessels during the conflict.

Lanis, Edward Stanley. "Allen Pinkerton and the Baltimore 'Assassination' Plot Against Lincoln." *Maryland Historical* Magazine, 45 (1950): 1–13.

The story of Lincoln's trip through Baltimore on the way to Washington for his inauguration in 1861. Allen Pinkerton's involvement came through the efforts of Samuel M. Felton, president of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad. Unable to obtain Federal protection for his railroad, Felton badgered Pinkerton into investigating rumors of rebel espionage. Lincoln traveled on Felton's line under Pinkerton's protection.

Lerch, Kathryn W. "The 8th New York Heavy Artillery in Baltimore, 1862–1864." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 92 (1997): 93–118.

Using the letters and diaries of the 8th New York Heavy Artillery, Lerch describes the regiment's service in Baltimore where they spent most of the war quartered at Fort Federal Hill. Their duties included guarding prisoners of war and drill. In February 1864, the 8th left the city to join Hancock's 2nd Corps, Army of the Potomac. Thereafter the 8th had the second highest casualty rate of all Union regiments.

———. "Prosecuting Citizens, Rebels & Spies: The 8th New York Heavy Artillery in Maryland, 1862–1864." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 94 (1999): 133–71.

From 1862 to 1864, the officers of the 8th New York Heavy Artillery presided over almost 300 cases against Federal soldiers, civilians, rebels, and spies. The article describes the organization and procedures of the court and uses ten cases heard by the officers as examples.

Levin, Alexandra Lee. "A Marylander's Eyewitness Account of the Battle of Port Royal, South Carolina, 7 November 1861." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 85 (1990): 179–83.

Robert W. McCleery of Frederick, Maryland, served as an engineer in the U.S. Navy. As such, he watched the Battle of Port Royal, South Carolina, from the deck of the U.S.S. *Wabash*. He recorded his observations in a letter to his brother, reproduced here, with a hand-drawn map showing the movements of the *Wabash*. Levin offers a concise biography of McCleery and his service.

———. "Who Hid John H. Surratt, the Lincoln Conspiracy Case Figure?" *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 60 (1965): 175–84.

An investigation into the whereabouts of John H. Surratt in April 1865 and his connection to Confederate Brigadier General Edwin Gray Lee, a cousin of Robert E. Lee. In April 1865, Edwin Lee was in Canada.

———. "A Wounded Confederate Soldier's Letter from Fort McHenry." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 73 (1978): 394–96.

Extracts of a letter from W. Marshall to Neta Lee of Shepherdstown, Virginia. Lee nursed Marshall after the Battle of Antietam. The letter describes conditions at Fort McHenry—bad—and Marshall's first incarceration at the National Hotel on Camden St. in Baltimore.

Lewis, H. H. Walker. "The Schizophrenic Diary of Colonel Phelps." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 76 (1981): 383–85.

Charles E. Phelps was colonel of the 7th Maryland Infantry (U.S.). Wounded and captured at Spotsylvania Court House in 1864, Phelps became a prisoner of war, while his diary was taken by a Capt. Richards (C.S.A.). Later the diary came into the possession of Gen. M. L. Smith of the Confederate engineers who used it as a notebook and as his own diary. The article describes how the diary eventually found its way in the collections of the Maryland Historical Society.

Longacre, Edward G. "On the Road to Antietam: Letters of Edward W. Wightman of 'Hawkins's Zouaves.'" *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 75 (1980): 324–34.

Wightman was a member of the 9th New York Infantry (Hawkins's Zouaves). His letters describe conditions in Washington and the march to Antietam. Arriving after the battle, Wightman viewed the battlefield on September 21, 1862. He described the bodies, the destruction and carnage, debris, downed fences, and "furrows of earth" caused by cannon balls.

Luthin, Reinhard H. "A Discordant Chapter in Lincoln's Administration: The Davis-Blair Controversy." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 39 (1944): 25–48.

The story of the feud between Henry Winter Davis, congressional representative from Baltimore, and Montgomery Blair. Both men wanted a spot on Lincoln's cabinet, but Blair won out. Davis never forgave Blair. Embittered by Blair's selection, Davis used his power in Congress to attack Lincoln's policies, according to Luthin.

"Martin Family, Civil War Period, Baltimore." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 68 (1973): 354.

A request for information on Patrick Charles Martin that contains some details on his career as a spy, Confederate purchasing agent, and blockade runner during the war.

Matthews, Sidney T. "Control of the Baltimore Press during the Civil War." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 36 (1941): 150–70.

Freedom of the press did not fare well in Baltimore during the war. The Federal government used a variety of creative measures to suppress the pro-Southern print media. Techniques included the arrest of editors and threats against papers that published anything considered remotely hostile to the Union war effort.

McLachlan, James. "The Civil War Diary of Joseph H. Coit." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 60 (1965): 245–60.

Joseph H. Coit was an Episcopalian clergyman and an instructor at the College of St. James, some six miles south of Hagerstown. As presented here, his diary covers the initial period of the Gettysburg campaign from mid-June to July 1, 1863. Among the topics covered in the diary are events at the college, how the campaign affected the college, and general news of the war.

———. "Men of Maryland Specially Honored by the State or the United States." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 12 (1917): 201–53.

The special honors referred to in the title are either an act or resolution passed by either the Maryland General Assembly or by the U.S. Congress. This list of Marylanders gives accomplishments, birth and death dates, and special awards dating from the Revolution to the early twentieth century, including many men from the Civil War era.

Merli, Frank J. and Theodore A. Wilson. "The British Cabinet and the Confederacy: Autumn, 1862." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 65 (1970): 239–62.

Overview of British government policy regarding the American Civil War in the crucial year of 1862. Initially, the British government was firmly neutral, but by the fall of 1862 it was considering intervention by way of mediation. Had the Confederates emerged victorious after Antietam, the British might have recognized the Confederacy as an independent government. Even after Antietam, discussion continued in the British government with Chancellor of the Exchequer Gladstone stating publicly that the South had "made a nation."

Merrill, Louis Taylor. "How Ben Butler Saved 'Old Ironsides.'" *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 41 (1946): 125–31.

When Union general Benjamin Butler arrived in Maryland in 1861, the U.S.S. *Constitution*, "Old Ironsides," was a training ship for the U.S. Naval Academy. To prevent Rebels from making an attempt to capture the historic ship, Butler ordered it out to sea.

Miller, Samuel H., ed. "Civil War Memoirs of the First Maryland Cavalry, C.S.A." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 58 (1963): 137–70.

Henry Clay Mettam was a native of Pikesville, Maryland. He served in the First from 1862 until the end of the war and saw action in Virginia prior to the battle of Gettysburg, but was sick with typhoid during that campaign. Subsequently, Mettam took part in Early's invasion of Maryland. He was captured in 1864 and sent to Camp Chase, Ohio. This is an overview of his career, written in 1912 for the benefit of his children.

Mitchell, Charles W. "The Madness of Disunion: The Baltimore Conventions of 1860." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 92 (1997): 183–209.

In May 1860, the Constitutional Union Party held its convention in

Baltimore and nominated John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for president and vice president respectively. In June of the same year, Baltimore hosted the second Democratic convention of the year. Among the delegates was Bradley Johnson of Frederick. The convention turned ugly over sectional disagreements, but eventually John Breckinridge of Kentucky was nominated for president with Joseph Lane of Oregon as his running mate. Much attention in the article is given to the Maryland delegates and the actions of Maryland political figures during the convention.

———. "Whose Cause Shall We Embrace? Maryland and the Fort Sumter Crisis." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 95 (2000): 65–97.

Maryland's reaction to the standoff at Fort Sumter and the subsequent bombardment of the fort. The author contends, and rather persuasively, that most Marylanders opposed secession.

Morison, Samuel Eliot. "Mr. Lincoln Attends Church." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 57 (1962): 47–55.

Taken from an address by Morison at St. John's Church in Washington, D.C., on February 26, 1861. A general discussion of Lincoln's first days in office, particularly February 24, 1861, when Lincoln attended St. John's. Mentions Lincoln's passage through Baltimore on his way to Washington as well as the experience of his family through the same city.

Myers, William Starr, ed. "The Civil War Diary of Isaac Ridgeway Trimble." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 17 (1922): 1–20.

Trimble was born in Culpeper, Virginia. Following graduation from West Point, Trimble served in the army but resigned after ten years' service in 1832 with the rank of lieutenant. After leaving the army, Trimble settled in Baltimore where, save for his service with the Army of Northern Virginia, he resided for the rest of his life. The diary runs from July 14, 1862, to April 1864. Trimble recorded his experiences at Antietam, Second Manassas, and Gettysburg, where he was wounded and captured, and his subsequent imprisonment at Ft. McHenry.

———, ed. "Governor Bradford's Private List of Union Men in 1861." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 7 (1922): 88–90.

This list was probably compiled to assist the governor in making appointments to state office. Bradford's list gives name and occupation for each individual. Not stirring reading, but a reminder that political lists are nothing new.

Nesenhoner, Stefan. "Maintaining the Center: John Pendleton Kennedy, the Border States, and the Secession Crisis." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 89 (1994): 413–26.

Elder Maryland statesman John Pendleton Kennedy labored mightily to prevent dissolution of the Union through a pamphlet campaign. Kennedy also agreed to chair the Unionist party in Maryland.

Nicholson, Isaac F. "The Maryland Guard Battalion, 1860–1861." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 6 (1911): 117–31.

Nicholson gives a brief history of the short-lived unit. Formed in February 1860, the Guard disbanded in April 1861. He names the officers and sergeants of the unit and lists known survivors as of the date of publication (1911). Members of the Guard later served in both the Union and Confederate armies.

Paca, Edward C., ed. "'Tim's Black Book': The Civil War Diary of Edward Tilghman Paca Jr., C.S.A." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 89 (1994): 453–66.

In September 1862, Edward Paca left Maryland to join the Confederates. This is a diary of his first six months in service (September 1862–January 1863). Paca described his difficulties in getting to the Confederacy and once in Richmond, enlisting in a unit. After serving as an acting Quartermaster, Paca eventually mustered into the Winder Cavalry (January 1863).

Packard, Joseph. "The Retreat from Petersburg to Appomattox." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 13 (1918): 1–19.

A former Confederate artillery officer remembers the final days of the Army of Northern Virginia. Packard was a native of Alexandria, Virginia, who served in the Rockbridge Artillery. After the war he was a lawyer and president of the school board in Baltimore. He died in Baltimore in 1923.

Pegram, William M. "An Historical Identification. John Wilkes Booth: What Became of Him?" *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 8 (1913): 327–31.

The publication of *The Escape and Suicide of John Wilkes Booth* (1907) caused many to question whether or not Booth survived to 1903 only to commit suicide in Enid, Oklahoma. Pegram responds to the doubters with convincing evidence including a description of viewing Booth's body with Henry C. Wagner in 1869 after the remains were released by the War Department.

Pinkett, Harold T. "A Brother's Fight for Freedom." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 86 (1991): 39–50.

Four African American brothers, Sandy, Stephen, Adam and Wilson Pinkett, of Somerset County, enlisted in the Union Army. They served in the 7th and 9th U.S. Colored Troops. The article follows the Pinketts from enlistment in November 1863 to mustering out in 1866. At the time of their enlistment, slaves could be enlisted without the consent of the master if company quotas were not filled within thirty days. The Pinketts were the sons of a free father and a slave mother.

Quynn, Dorothy Mackay and William Rogers Quynn. "Barbara Frietschie." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 37 (1942): 227–54, 400–13.

Biographical sketch of Barbara's life with a thorough examination of the myth engendered by the Whittier poem. Explores various explanations

and sources for the story including the possibility that Barbara was a psychopathic flag waver. Text is enhanced by a photo of Barbara and a map of Frederick, Maryland, showing the route of the main column of the Confederate army as well as the possible route taken by Jackson. Concludes that the story is fictional, but Whittier believed it to be true at the time he wrote his poem and never formally recanted on that belief.

Reese, Timothy J. "One Man's Battlefield: George Alfred Townsend and the War Correspondents' Memorial Arch." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 92 (1997): 357–85.

During the war, George Townsend was a correspondent for the *New York Herald*. After the war he was a respected columnist for various papers and an author. Following the publication of a novel that included scenes from the Battle of Crampton's Gap, Townsend bought land on South Mountain and established an estate he called "Gapland." In the 1890s, Townsend solicited funds from colleagues for a memorial arch to the Civil War correspondents. The completed monument has the names of 157 reporters. Included also is the story of Townsend's life.

———. Lee and Lincoln in Burkittsville: The Prather Letter Reexamined." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 82 (1987): 159–64.

A letter allegedly written by Benjamin Franklin Prather of the 16th Georgia Infantry is shown to be a fraud. The letter was discovered in 1976 between the pages of a church school book.

Reitzel, Philip M., ed. "A Soldier's Letters, 1864." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 83 (1988): 254–67.

A collection of letters written by Louis Russell LeClear, 93rd New York National Guard from the summer of 1864. LeClear was an eyewitness and participant in Early's invasion of Maryland that year. Much of LeClear's service took place in and around Ellicott's Mills, Maryland.

"Research Note." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 90 (1995): 129.

Notes that the Baltimore City Jail housed prisoners of war and political prisoners, in reference to "Maryland Prisoners in the Baltimore City Jail, 1864." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 89 (1994): 467–68.

Rigby, James H. "Sidelights: Three Civil War Letters of James H. Rigby, a Maryland Federal Artillery Officer." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 57 (1962): 155–60.

Rigby was a 1st lieutenant and later a captain in the artillery. Letters include Rigby's experiences in late 1861 while he was still in Maryland as well as one at Fredericksburg, Virginia on December 12, 1862. Includes Rigby's description of the Battle of Antietam and aftermath as well as the battle of Crampton's Gap.

Robinson, Edward Ayrault. "Some Recollections of April 19, 1861." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 27 (1932): 274–79.

Robinson was a sergeant with Co. A, 5th Maryland Guard. This is his account of the Baltimore riot on April 19, 1861. During the riot, the 5th

guarded its armory from the mob and was ordered out to quell the riot. A Unionist, Robinson welcomed the arrival of Union general Benjamin Butler to the city in May, 1861.

Ruffner, Kevin Conley. "Lost in the Lost Cause: The 1st Maryland Infantry Regiment (C.S.)." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 90 (1995): 425–45.

An overview of the difficulties encountered raising Maryland units in the Confederacy. Bradley Johnson and George H. Steuart put pressure on the Confederate War Department to allow Maryland troops in other units to join the 1st Maryland. Eventually, the Confederate government disbanded the 1st Maryland (May 1862) owing to appeals for discharge from members of the regiment so that they could deal with personal problems at home. Johnson believed that had the 1st existed during the Antietam campaign, it would have received many volunteers.

———. "A Maryland Refugee in Virginia." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 89 (1994): 447–52.

A letter by an unidentified Maryland woman living and working as a nurse in Charlottesville, Virginia, in 1863. Homesick for her native state, the woman tried to keep in contact with every Marylander in the Charlottesville area.

———. "'More Trouble than a Brigade': Harry Gilmor's 2nd Maryland Cavalry in the Shenandoah Valley." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 89 (1994): 389–411.

In 1863, Harry Gilmor resigned his captaincy in the 12th Virginia Cavalry to raise a battalion of Maryland cavalry. The resulting partisan unit operated in the Shenandoah Valley in 1863 and into 1864. At times their behavior was outrageous, including a train robbery in which passengers were relieved of their valuables. The activities of Gilmor's unit generated a number of complaints from valley residents and others, allegedly embarrassing Robert E. Lee.

Russ, William A. Jr. "Disfranchisement in Maryland (1861–1867)." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 28 (1933): 309–28.

A large portion of the Maryland population was prevented from voting in Federal elections during the war, particularly known Southern sympathizers and Confederate veterans. Arrests were made of state legislators, Baltimore city officials, and private citizens. The U.S. Army and state government officials determined the loyalty of potential voters.

Salay, David. "Everyday Life at Fort Washington, Maryland, 1861–1862." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 87 (1992): 420–27.

Health, food, cleanliness, and the number of laundresses servicing the fort are among the topics examined.

———. "'Very Picturesque, But Regarded as Nearly Useless': Fort Washington, Maryland 1816–1872." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 81 (1986): 67–86.

The tale of Fort Washington with numerous references to the Civil War pe-

riod, including units serving in the fort and a list of the artillery. Describes the design of the fort, the grounds, barracks, and other buildings.

Sanderlin, Walter S. "A House Divided: The Conflict of Loyalties on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 1861–1865." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 42 (1947): 206–13.
A brief and general overview of activities around the C&O during the war. Includes the arrest of C&O president Alfred Spates by Federals and Rebel raids on the canal.

Scarlett, Charles Jr., et al. "Yankee Race Horse: The U.S.S. Constellation." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 56 (1961): 15–38.
The Civil War period of the *Constellation* is covered on pages 31–38. A listing of Marylanders serving on the *Constellation* during the war is included.

Schoeberlein, Robert W. "A Fair to Remember: Maryland Women in Aid of the Union." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 90 (1995): 467–88.
A strong core of Unionist women in Baltimore provided soldiers with aid and comfort through the war. The Ladies Union Relief Association formed in October 1861. Their activities included nursing, presentation of flags, and providing food. April 1864 saw the Maryland state Fair for U.S. Soldier Relief, or the Baltimore Sanitary Fair. This is the story of the organization of the fair and the event itself, which included a visit by President and Mrs. Lincoln.

———, and Andrew Brethauer, eds. "Letters of a Maryland Confederate." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 98 (2003): 345–61.
The letters of Franklin Voss begin in July 1860 when he was a student at the University of Virginia. These early letters offer no hint of the coming war. Gradually, their tone changed, and after the war began Voss left the university with several other Marylanders to join the Confederate army. Subsequent letters describe the 1st Bull Run and other engagements as well as camp life. The concluding letter from Samuel Sullivan describes Voss's death during a cavalry charge outside Columbia, Kentucky.

———. "Second Regiment, Maryland Volunteer Infantry." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 12 (1917): 41–45.
Much of the article is about Jacob Eugene Duryee, who was colonel of the 2nd Maryland Infantry (U.S.) during Burnside's campaign in North Carolina and the Virginia and Maryland campaigns of 1862. Included is a list of the dead from Antietam and a list of the four 2nd Maryland officers wounded there.

Semmes, Raphael. "Civil War Song Sheets: One of the Collections of the Maryland Historical Society." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 38 (1943): 205–29.
Semmes describes the song sheets in the collection, quotes from the songs, and uses the songs as a gage of popular opinion during the war.

———. "Vignettes of Maryland History from the Society's Collection of Broadsides, Part II." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 40 (1945): 24–53.

In this vignette, Semmes looks at Civil War broadsides in the collection of the Maryland Historical Society. As far as the war was concerned, Semmes found purely political broadsides, such as the call for a Maryland state convention following the secession of the Southern states, satire in verse, and reprints of military speeches.

Shadel, Dana. "Henry Kyd Douglas: Reconstructed Rebel." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 88 (1993): 203–9.

During the war, Henry Kyd Douglas served as an aide to Stonewall Jackson until the general's death after Chancellorsville. Later, Douglas wrote a highly regarded memoir of this experience. After the war, Douglas chose to live in Maryland although he was a native of (West) Virginia. Shadel covers Douglas' postwar career and his desire for reconciliation between the states.

Sigaud, Louis A. "Mrs. Greenhow and the Rebel Spy Ring." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 41 (1946): 173–98.

Rose O'Neal Greenhow began life as the daughter of a Port Tobacco, Maryland, planter. Sigaud describes how in the early years of the war Greenhow operated a spy ring out of her Washington, D.C., home.

Smith, Michael Thomas. "The Meanest Man in Lincoln's Cabinet: A Reappraisal of Montgomery Blair." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 95 (2000): 191–209.

Kentucky native Montgomery Blair served from 1861 to 1864 on Lincoln's cabinet as Postmaster General. During that time he alienated a great many people. A trusted advisor to Lincoln, Blair was argumentative, but he was neither mean nor vindictive. Much of Blair's poor reputation stems from political squabbles with other cabinet members, and certain members of Congress.

Spalding, Basil William. "Blue and Gray II: The Confederate Raid on Cumberland in 1865." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 7 (1912): 196–200.

A native of Charles County, Maryland, Spalding served in McNeill's Partisan Rangers during the war. In 1865, Spalding and a number of others followed Jesse McNeill on a raid into Cumberland, Maryland, that resulted in the capture of Union generals Crook and Kelley. This is Spalding's memoir of that raid.

Steiner, Bernard. "James Alfred Pearce." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 6 (1921): 319–39; 17 (1922): 177–90, 269–83, 348–63; 18 (1923): 38–42, 134–50, 257–73, 341–57; 19 (1924): 13–29, 162–79.

Serialized life of James A. Pearce, a multi-term senator from Maryland whose career overlapped the Civil War from April 1861 until his death on December 20, 1862. Although Pearce was a native of Virginia, for most of his adult life he lived in Kent County, Maryland.

Steiner, John A. "The Brengle Home Guard." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 7 (1912): 196–200.

Steiner recounts the organization of the regiment and its service as a guard unit protecting the Maryland General Assembly when that body convened in Frederick, Maryland at the beginning of the war. A list of members is included in the article. Originally known as the Frederick Home Guard, the unit took its name from its commander, Captain Alfred F. Brengle.

———. "Story of Lee's Spurs." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* v.87 (1992): 415–19.

Reprint of an article from the *Washington Post* in the late nineteenth century. During the war, money was raised by the ladies of Baltimore to purchase gold spurs for Lee in the amount of $450. Capt. Charles Caywood of Charles County, Maryland, and some compatriots were entrusted with the mission of delivering the spurs. Caywood and company stayed the night at the plantation of William Joshua Cartwright on the Patuxent River. Pursued by Federal troops, Caywood gave the spurs to Mrs. Cartwright (Martha Maddox) who kept the spurs until Caywood could return.

Stump, Henry. "An Eyewitness to the Baltimore Riot, 19th April, 1861." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 53 (1958): 403.

Letter of Judge Henry Stump of Baltimore to his sister-in-law Mary Stump briefly describing the riot among other subjects.

Surratt, Anna. "Some Letters of Anna Surratt." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 54 (1959): 310–15.

Letters from Anna Surratt to her friend Elisabeth Louise Stone. The war is mentioned briefly and in passing.

Sutherland, Daniel E. "'Altamont' of the *Tribune*: John Williamson Palmer in the Civil War." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 78 (1983): 54–66.

A former editor for the *New York Times*, at the beginning of the war John Williamson Palmer joined the staff of the *New York Tribune* as a feature writer. His articles were published under the pen name "Altamont." Among the scoops Palmer provided the *Tribune* were a report on the death of Confederate general Turner Ashby and an interview with John Wool, who defended Harper's Ferry during the Antietam campaign. An authority on Stonewall Jackson, Palmer wrote the poem "Stonewall Jackson's Way." There was some question as to Palmer's loyalties during the war. This and his personal habits ultimately led to a parting of the ways with the *Tribune*.

Thom, DeCourcy W. "Something More of the Great Confederate General, 'Stonewall' Jackson and One of his Humble Followers in the South of Yesteryear." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 25 (1930): 129–57.

During the Mexican War, Jackson and the father of the author, one Joseph Pembroke Thom, served as seconds for two dueling U.S. Army officers. Neither participant was killed. Thom relates the history of the incident and

what became of the individuals involved as well as Thom and Jackson's experiences in the Civil War.

Thurston, Mrs. Charles Buckner. "An Account of John Brown's Raid." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 39 (1944): 162–63.

A letter by Mrs. Thurston (Rosalie) to her mother, Elizabeth Gannt of Washington, D.C. Mrs. Thurston was a native of Cumberland, Maryland. After the raid, she spoke with some Cumberland natives who witnessed the events in Harper's Ferry and passed their stories on to her mother.

Tidwell, William A. "Charles County: Confederate Cauldron." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 91 (1996): 17–27.

Charles County, Maryland, was largely pro-Confederate, making it ideal for Confederate Secret Service operations. Tidwell believes that many of the county's leading citizens operated a "Confederate Underground" during the war, one that aided in the escape of John Wilkes Booth following Lincoln's assassination.

Tilghman, Tench Francis. "The College Green Barracks: St. John's During the Civil War." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 45 (1950): 77–94.

The campus of St. John's in Annapolis was used by Federal troops as barracks and camp. Many of the faculty and students left the school to join in armies. Enrollment decreased at the college, and the operations of the school did not fully resume until the end of hostilities.

Todd, Eward N. "Bishop Whittingham, Mount Calvary Church, and the Battle of Gettysburg." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 60 (1965): 325–28.

Episcopal Bishop Whittingham asked his clergy to set aside July 19, 1863, as a day of thanksgiving for the Union victory at Gettysburg. Rev. Alfred A. Curtis of Mount Calvary Church in Baltimore refused to comply. This is an exchange of letters between Whittingham and Curtis.

Towers, Frank, ed. "Military Waif: A Sidelight on the Baltimore Riot of 19 April 1861." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 89 (1994): 427–46.

Born in Baltimore and the son of a Massachusetts native, Ernest Wardwell witnessed the riot against the 6th Massachusetts. During the riot, he attached himself to the 6th, joined the regiment, and served until the unit was mustered out.

Trimble, T. Ridgeway. "Damn Rascal." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984): 142–44.

The "damn rascal" of the title is Samuel Boyer Davis of Baltimore, who had his share of adventures in Confederate service. An aide to Gen. Isaac Ridgeway Trimble at Gettysburg, Davis was captured but managed to escape. Subsequently, Davis joined the staff of Brig. Gen. John Winder at Andersonville, Georgia. Later reassigned to the Signal Corps, Davis carried messages to Canada. On the return journey he was arrested and condemned to hang as a spy. After appeals to the president, his sentence was commuted and Davis was released at the end of the war.

Trundle, Joseph H. "Gettysburg Described in Two Letters from a Maryland Confederate." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 54 (1959): 210–12.
Trundle was a soldier in the 2nd Maryland Infantry. One letter was written on the way to Gettysburg, one after.

Tyson, Raymond W. "Henry Winter Davis: Orator for the Union." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 58 (1963): 1–19.
An examination of Davis's career as congressman from Maryland during the war. A critic of Lincoln and rival of Montgomery Blair for a position in the cabinet, Davis was renowned as an orator of great ability.

"Unpublished Letters from the Archives." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 24 (1929): 284–88.
Three letters from Lincoln to Gov. Augustus Bradford regarding loyalty tests for Maryland voters, and appeals for clemency from Lt. William Thomas, 1st Regiment, Maryland Infantry (U.S.), and William H. Evans of the same regiment, both confined for violations of army regulations.

Wagandt, Charles L. "Election by Sword and Ballot: The Emancipationist Victory of 1863." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 59 (1964): 143–64.
With the use of coercion and corruption, pro-Union men were elected to the Maryland legislature, to the office of the comptroller for the state, and to the U.S. Congress from the First District. Federal authorities made arbitrary arrests during the campaign and stationed soldiers at polling places to intimidate voters. Included in the text is a statistical breakdown and tables showing the election results.

———. "Fighting Fires the Baltimore Way: A British View of 1862." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 61 (1964): 257–61.
A letter from British consul Frederick Bernal to John Russell, M.P. regarding the Baltimore fire department and its response to a fire in the city.

Walker, Noah Dixon. "Lieut. Noah Dixon Walker to his Father Noah Walker." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 30 (1935): 363–67.
Baltimore native Noah Walker held a commission as a lieutenant with the 44th Virginia Infantry. The letter describes in brief Walker's service from June 1861 to the winter of 1862–1863.

Wells, Jonathan. "The Transformation of John Pendleton Kennedy: Maryland, the Republican Party, and the Civil War." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 95 (2000): 291–307.
Describes the political thought and career of Kennedy up to the Civil War. Shows how the war reshaped Kennedy's opinions regarding slavery and Lincoln. During the war, Kennedy wrote pamphlets supporting the Union, producing a series of ten essays "promoting" the Union in the *National Intelligencer*. Later, these essays were published as *Mr. Ambrose's Letters on the Rebellion*.

Wennerstein, John R. "John W. Crisfield and Civil War Politics in Maryland, 1860–1864." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 99 (2004): 5–15.

Crisfield serves as a symbol here of the Maryland political scene during the Civil War. A proslavery Democratic congressman, and thus hardly a favorite of the national government, Crisfield's bid for reelection failed due to Federal interference. A good, concise study of the political realities in Maryland during the war.

Will, Thomas E. "Bradley T. Johnson's Lost Cause: Maryland's Confederate Identity in the New South." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 94 (1999): 5–29.

Briefly describes Johnson's life up to the Civil War, his attitudes regarding secession, and his career during the war. The bulk of the article deals with Johnson's successful efforts to depict Maryland as largely pro-Confederate and how Johnson dealt with the concept of the "New South" after the war.

Wooster, Ralph A. "The Membership of the Maryland Legislature of 1861." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 56 (1961): 94–102.

Data on the membership of the Maryland legislature of 1861 including profession, personal worth, ages.

Wyatt-Brown, Bertram. "Honor and Theater: Booth, the Lincoln Conspirators, and the Maryland Connection." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 104 (2009): 302–25.

Wyatt-Brown shows how Booth's family and the importance of the theater contributed to the mentality that led him to decide upon assassination. In addition, the Maryland political climate prior to the war and Booth's association with the Confederate Signal Corps, the Rebel secret service, a body willing to commit acts of terrorism in the North, only enforced Booth's resolve to commit an act of violence.

Wynee, Patricia Hochwalt. "Lincoln's Western Image in the 1860 Campaign." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 59 (1964): 165–81.

How the Republicans used Lincoln's image as a westerner to their advantage and how the Democrats used it to paint Lincoln as a rube. No immediate connection to Maryland history, but an interesting examination of the 1860 race.

Zanca, Kenneth J. "Baltimore's Catholics and the Funeral of Abraham Lincoln." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 98 (2003): 91–101.

Although Martin J. Spalding, Archbishop of Baltimore released a statement condemning Lincoln's murder, the tone of the message was cool, according to Zanca. Further, many clergy and many Catholic Marylanders in general, did not respect Lincoln in the least. The reaction of the clergy was so subdued that Gen. Lew Wallace, as commander of the Middle Department, issued a warning to the clergy. In the end, Lincoln's funeral procession passed through Baltimore without incident.

Zornow, William Frank. "The Union Party Convention at Baltimore in 1864." *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 45 (1950): 176–200.

The story of the convention in Baltimore, replete with an account of behind-the-scene deals and the opposition to Lincoln by party radicals.

## Book Reviews

Abel, E. Lawrence. *Singing in the New Nation: How Music Shaped the Confederacy, 1861–1865.* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 2000), by David K. Hildebrand, v.96 (2001): 256–58.

Ackinclose, Timothy R. *Sabres and Pistols: The Civil War Career of Colonel Harry Gilmor, C.S.A.* (Gettysburg, Pa.: Stan Clark Military Books, 1997), by Walt Albro, v.92 (1997): 393–96.

Alexander, Thomas B. and Richard E. Beringer. *The Anatomy of the Confederate Congress: A Study of the Influences of Member Characteristics on Legislative Voting Behavior, 1861–1865.* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1972), by Ralph A. Wooster, v.68 (1973): 226.

Anderson, Bern. *By Sea and by River: The Naval History of the Civil War.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1962), by Curtis Carroll Davis, v.58 (1963): 387–88.

Andrews, J. Cutler. *The South Reports the Civil War.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), by W. Harrison Daniel, v.66 (1971): 485–86.

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Ayers, James T. *The Diary of James T. Ayers, Civil War Recruiter* edited by John Hope Franklin.(Springfield.: Illinois State University, 1947), by Gustavus G. Williamson Jr., v.43 (1948): 150–51.

Baker, Jean H. *The Politics of Continuity: Maryland Political Parties from 1858 to 1870.* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), by Mary Catherine Kahl, v.70 (1975): 234–35.

Barron, Lee. *The History of Sharpsburg, Maryland.* (Sharpsburg, Md.: Barron, 1972), by Joseph W. Cox, v.70 (1975): 121–22.

Bartlett, Catherine Thom, ed. *My Dear Brother. A Confederate Chronicle.* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1952), by Francis F. Beirne, v.47 (1952): 345–46.

Bean, W. G. *Stonewall's Man: Sandie Pendleton.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), by Theodore M. Whitfield, v.54 (1959): 431–32.

Beitzell, Edwin W. *Point Lookout Prison Camp for Confederates.* (Abell, Md.: Beitzell, 1971), by James L. Nichols, v.68 (1973): 345.

Belz, Herman. *Abraham Lincoln, Constitutionalism, and Equal Rights During the Civil War Era.* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1998), by Mark D. McGarvie, v.93 (1998): 233–36.

———. *Reconstructing the Union: Theory and Policy During the Civil War.* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1969), by James E. Sefton, v.64 (1969): 426–427.

Benedict, Michael Les. *A Compromise of Principle: Congressional Republicans and Recon-*

*struction, 1863–1869.* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1974), by Fred M. Rivers, v.71 (1976): 575–76.

Bennett, Michael J. *Union Jacks: Yankee Sailors in the Civil War.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), by Paul O'Neil, v.99 (2004): 391–92.

Beringer, Richard E., et al. *Why the South Lost the Civil War.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), by John M. McCardell Jr., v.82 (1987): 186–87.

Berkeley, Henry Robinson. *Four Years in the Confederate Artillery. The Diary of Private Henry Robinson Berkeley,* edited by William H. Runge. (Chapel Hill: Published for the Virginia Historical Society by the University of North Carolina Press, 1961), by Roger S. Cohen Jr., v.57 (1962): 64.

Bettersworth, John K. and James W. Silver, eds. *Mississippi in the Confederacy.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961), by N. C. Hughes Jr., v.56 (1961): 414–15.

Bill, Alfred Hoyt. *The Beleaguered City.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), by Edward M. Strauss Jr., v.41 (1946): 161–62.

Blakey, Arch Frederic. *General John H. Winder, C.S.A.* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1990), by Robert L. Weinberg, v.86 (1991): 336–38.

Blight, David. *Frederick Douglass' Civil War: Keeping the Faith in Jubilee.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), by Hayward Farrar, v.85 (1990): 88–90.

———. *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), by Kevin Mumford, v.96 (2001): 120–22.

Boatner, Mark Mayo. *The Civil War Dictionary.* (New York: David McKay Company, 1959), by N. C. Hughes, v.55 (1960): 157–58.

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Borritt, Gabor S., ed. *Why the Confederacy Lost: An Essay Review.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), by David Osher and Peter Wallenstein, v.88 (1993): 95–108.

Bosse, David. *Civil War Newspaper Maps.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), by Richard R. Duncan, v.89 (1994): 111–12.

Bridges, Hal. *Lee's Maverick General: Daniel Harvey Hill.* (1961, reprint Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991 by David C. Ward, v.87 (1992): 358.

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Channing, Steven A. *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina.* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), by George C. Rogers Jr., v.67 (1972): 89–90.

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*1830–1865.* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), by Mitchell Snay, v.87 (1992): 234–35.

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———. *Rock of Chickamauga: The Life of General George H. Thomas.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), by Brooks D. Simpson, v.82 (1987): 265.

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Coryell, Janet L. *Neither Heroine nor Fool: Anna Ella Carroll of Maryland.* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1990), by John R. Wennersten, v.86 (1991): 100–102.

Cottom, Robert L. Jr. and Mary Ellen Hayward. *Maryland in the Civil War: A House Divided.* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1994), by Vincent Fitzpatrick, v.89 (1994): 473–75.

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# Book Reviews

*Motives of Honor, Pleasure, & Profit: Plantation Management in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1607–1765*. By Lorena S. Walsh. (Chapel Hill: Omohundro Institute of Early American History & Culture and The University of North Carolina Press, 2010. 736 pages. Illustrations, figures, maps, tables, appendices, notes, index. Cloth, $70.00.)

In this sweeping study of the Chesapeake, Lorena Walsh brings together decades of her research on the business of plantations, the rise of servant and slave labor regimes, and the formation of planter elites across the region. *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, & Profit* elegantly and compellingly carries the reader from the founding years of Jamestown and its small surrounding settlements to the end of the plantation complex's "golden age" at the close of the Seven Years' War. It is grounded on the most thorough examination we have of the account books and agricultural sources, which allows Walsh to marshal strong evidence supporting some interpretive challenges to long-standing historical scholarship about the nature of Chesapeake tobacco plantation management, planters' connections to other regions and the Atlantic, the roles of slaves over time, and the agricultural changes planters made in response to shifting economic conditions.

Instead of generalizing about a coherent Chesapeake region, as so many scholars have done, Walsh breaks down the region's development both chronologically and, most refreshingly, by agricultural subregions. Portions of the book's narrative will be familiar to early Americanists, largely because Walsh herself has been at the forefront of scholars publishing different pieces of this complicated story for many years. *Motives of Honor, Pleasure & Profit* brings much of this work together, but it also presents startling new evidence from the accounts of more than thirty surviving plantations. Grounded on an approach she calls "rational management" of plantations—the pragmatic and sometimes aggressive efforts of planters to prevail against difficult odds—Walsh immerses the reader in a dazzling array of entrepreneurial adaptations that varied over time and from plantation to plantation. We learn that individual planters' decisions about what to grow, how to grow it, how to use unfree labor, how to acquire land, how to respond to local and distant markets, and how to build elite family power varied to a remarkable degree. It mattered deeply when a head of household arrived, his access to credit, the quantity of land and quality of the soil he acquired, the shifting fortunes of international markets, and his management of unfree labor and farm resources. World markets, local conditions, and private planters' choices all blended together, and in many combinations over the colonial era, to create the varied economic and cultural region of the Chesapeake.

From the great sum of evidentiary pieces that Walsh marshals emerges a picture of Chesapeake plantation management with some bold new contours. In the first

of three chronological eras, from Jamestown's founding through Bacon's Rebellion, Walsh follows a familiar narrative about how corporately organized landholdings quickly gave way to privately held plantations developed with relatively modest amounts of capital. But why, she asks, did the first planters abandon a variety of initial investment schemes and turn to the problematic staple of tobacco so definitively? Her answer is that the first planters did not have the unimpeded autonomy from the home country that we often assume they had. English investors pulled most of the strings, and they were unwilling to advance credit and desperately needed supplies to colonists unless there were quick returns from the colony. Tobacco became the means to pay for necessities when producing them within the colony was still impossible, and colonists embraced its cultivation with a vengeance. By the 1630s the brutal disease environment in the Chesapeake was partially offset by helpful regulations and incentives forged in England that encouraged planters to dedicate themselves to tobacco. Down to the 1660s, Walsh argues, innovation and adaptation by hundreds of small planters "shaped the agricultural regimen more profoundly than in any other period in the region's history" (135). Tenancy and indentured servitude took root, bolstered by the promise of freeholds, and Bacon's Rebellion did little to alter the steady rise of the tobacco planting order in Virginia.

Slavery was the essential source of labor for Chesapeake plantations after the first years, and a significant part of Walsh's narrative is about the rise of slavery in the region. Of course, the famous and successful always leave a better paper trail than the poor and subordinate. So although Walsh is able to build fascinating stories across four generations of elite planters, the work and culture of what rapidly became a black majority is less sharply focused. Still, on the matter of slavery's origins in the tobacco-producing Chesapeake, Walsh is clear: before the 1630s there is "no evidence that Chesapeake settlers envisioned African slaves as a possible solution to the scarcity of laborers" (112), despite the long-standing presence of slavery in Iberian settlements and the established Atlantic slave trade. But there was also no protracted transition to legalized slavery in the Chesapeake, and no great soul-searching about the morality of slavery, which became the primary form of labor for elite planters during the 1630s and 1640s. Elite planters made the deliberate decision to embrace slavery swiftly, investing great amounts of available capital—whether from loans, family inheritances, or increasing sales of tobacco in Atlantic markets—on the purchase of slaves well before our usual historiographical turning point of the 1680s, and before the supply of indentured servants shrank significantly. The number of bushels of grain or pounds of tobacco that a slave produced, not the yields per acre, became the basis of calculating profits and paying debts. As Walsh argues, planter debt, a topic of numerous scholarly investigations, was far less a result of elite spending on lavish gentility or luxury refinement than of calculated efforts to increase the productivity of plantations with forced labor and British merchants' ability to bring slaves directly from Africa.

During this first era, a handful of successful planters began to consolidate their prosperity, based not so much on scientific methods of cultivation or diversifying farm activities as on the diligent single-mindedness of accumulating land and enslaved labor. But Walsh also develops portraits of planters who had little capital or credit to buy slaves, clear land, harvest high yields, and profit as handsomely as the successful few. It also mattered where a planter chose to cultivate in these early years: while high-priced, sweet-scented tobacco grew in the rich bottomlands of the lower tidewater, only the lower-valued Oronoco variety of "the weed" grew in other Virginia areas and in Maryland, which in turn reinforced the emerging gap between very successful and moderately struggling planters in regional terms. Nevertheless, cautious management of a small plantation in these early years could bring returns as high as those on poorly managed large plantations. For example, we reacquaint ourselves with Marylander Robert Cole, the subject of an earlier study by Walsh, Lois Carr, and Russell Menard, but here we see Cole in the context of planters all around him, and we learn that Cole made management decisions as good as his wealthier neighbors, but was limited by poor local markets and the smaller scale of his farm compared to the elite tobacco exporters who owned many enslaved people.

In Walsh's second large chronological era, from 1680 to 1729, readers encounter other important challenges to the historiography of the region. For example, Walsh corrects the prevailing view of prolonged stagnation in tobacco prices and arrested material development in the Chesapeake during these years. For the advantaged few, this was a period of important adaptations and diversification. Those planters who had chosen to ground plantation labor on slavery readily entered business with British slave traders, rapidly adopted slave gang labor, and regularly borrowed funds in order to extend landholdings and secure family fortunes. In the tidewater subregion, sweet-scented tobacco exports bolstered a few fortunes, too, because local politicians (usually also planters) regulated quality with inspection acts and encouraged controlled production of tobacco in order to keep up prices. Prominent planters such as William Fitzhugh, William Byrd II, and Robert "King" Carter also benefited from the consignment system, which placed the sale of tobacco in the hands of English agents and gave Virginians access to stylish metropolitan goods for the few "plantation empires" emerging in Virginia, even as they also planned for the landed inheritances of their children and were attentive to timely repayment of debts for land and slave purchases. Walsh's intraregional comparisons also persuade us that on marginal or frontier land in the Chesapeake where Oronoco was dominant, there were opportunities for entrepreneurial middling planters despite smaller landholdings and fewer slaves: neighborhoods grew denser, farmers diversified agriculture to include marketable grains and orchards, some extracted natural resources, others built stores or loaned money or provisioned ships, as they clung to more modest margins of profit than the elite Virginians.

Not all roads led to prosperity during this middle period. As Walsh also argues

persuasively, many of the original successful planters began to reach a peak in tobacco yields, technological improvement, and efficiencies in packaging and marketing tobacco by the 1730s. Future profitability for many elite Virginia planters would rely, ever more, on expanding their slave labor force and the addition of new crops—corn and wheat—to the mix of diverse farm activities. Moreover, international warfare, a shrinking supply of white servants, and problematic prices for tobacco drove some struggling planters deeper into poverty. And the declining opportunities for propertyless immigrants and freed servants widened the gap between the rich and poor during these years. Faced with dire labor needs, those who could afford to buy African slave labor became increasingly dependent on it and debased the conditions under which their slaves labored, while small farmers in the Virginia lowcountry struggled with diminishing supplies of white servant labor.

A third Chesapeake era, the "golden age" from the 1730s to 1760s, extended and solidified the adaptations of the previous years. The era also witnessed deepening distinctions in the various subregions of the Chesapeake, and Walsh's final chapters stunningly demonstrate differences between, for example, lowcountry Virginia, Maryland's lower Western Shore, and the head of the Chesapeake Bay. As elsewhere in the British empire, prosperity was palpable for certain pockets of the Chesapeake where elite and rising middling planters used their managerial prudence to further diversify farming and milling activities, creatively manipulate credit and provide loans to neighbors, develop coastal and West Indies markets, and take advantage of denser internal networks that exchanged European imports and a wide variety of local goods. This was the era in which the capital assets owned by already wealthy Virginia planters soared, even as Scottish factors concentrated tobacco marketing in Britain and tied elite Virginia planters to long credit for imported goods. Prosperity was also within the grasp of tenacious Maryland planters who did not diversify and focused primarily on Oronoco production for expanding Continental European markets, or who turned to grain and livestock production for hungry local and regional consumers. Even lesser interior planters on the upper Eastern Shore were connected by agriculture and importing to the farthest extent of the Atlantic world by the 1750s.

The number of great planters rose from a handful in the 1640s to about eighty at the close of the Seven Years' War. Contrary to prevailing scholarship, this was not a region, Walsh argues, of steady soil exhaustion by tobacco, and its elite planters (with a couple of notable exceptions) did not sink into luxurious overspending. Rather, planter indebtedness tended to be quite minimal, and where it was present, it was not stigmatizing or could be offset with further productive improvements or new enterprises. Instead, the "golden age" confirmed the rational entrepreneurship of planters who "valued a reputation for prudent financial management" (471) and who were now building Georgian mansions and buying into the consumer revolution of the last colonial decades. However, Walsh never loses sight of the tremendous

social cost of this prosperity for thousands of impoverished landless colonists and tens of thousands of slaves. Despite far lower numbers of imported slaves during this period, the creole slave population grew and remained vital for expansion into new western counties. Yet, compounding the "social failure" of slavery itself (632), the rewards of rationally managed agriculture in the golden age rarely extended into slave quarters.

As the tidewater "landscape was being filled up" (613) by 1760, the return of good tobacco prices encouraged planters to borrow heavily from British merchants to buy land and to obtain lavish credit advances from tobacco agents, as if their golden age would endure far into the future. Yet, as Walsh spells out, the golden years were fading quickly as a doubly troubling phase set in. In addition to the political crisis bubbling up during the 1760s, the subregions of primary tobacco production were bringing lower levels of profit and overall prosperity to planters than the areas where grain cultivation and diversification became prevalent. As Walsh's final pages point out, the Revolution would force unforeseen but momentous crises on tidewater planters who for generations had prudently calculated agricultural adaptations and, on the other hand, enslaved tens of thousands of African people in their dogged pursuit of tobacco.

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*Citizen Bachelors: Manhood and the Creation of the United States.* By John Gilbert McCurdy. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009. 272 pages. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, $35.00.)

Drawing on a wide variety of historical sources from law, popular literature, and private writings, John Gilbert McCurdy contends that, in early colonial America, mastery was far more important than gender in the creation of difference and privilege. Unmarried men occupied a complicated place in society until about 1750, by which time bachelorhood had evolved into a distinct identity, a time of self-definition and autonomy in a man's life. The shift resulted from a combination of changes in the law, literature, and everyday living until, McCurdy argues, bachelorhood informed the creation of American citizenship.

McCurdy posits that in early colonial America bachelors without property were on a par with all other dependents—no different from women, children, or servants—but a man who held property and assumed the duties of a patriarch could take his place among the other masters of the community, even if he was not actually a husband or father. Beginning in the eighteenth century, unmarried men began to receive much more attention, and bachelors acquired an identity that embodied masculine autonomy. Since married men had familial obligations, colonial governments placed a greater burden for taking care of the colonies, monetarily and

militarily, on bachelors. All bachelors, regardless of the amount of property they held, were obliged to pay a special tax because of their bachelorhood and perform military duty. Whereas in the seventeenth century a man's standing was based on mastery, the creation of the bachelor laws effectively divided men into a husband/bachelor dichotomy.

Eighteenth-century literary depictions were central to the creation of this distinctive bachelor identity. Writers depicted bachelors as being immature, selfish, unconcerned with consequences, unpatriotic, and immoral—either unabashed rakes or attracted to the wrong sex. In short, bachelorhood had become a distinctive masculine identity defined by excessive autonomy. Yet, all of these descriptions reinforced the idea that the bachelor was an independent man. Hence, their gender mattered more than their mastery.

In examining the writings and lives of bachelors, McCurdy finds that by the eighteenth century bachelorhood had come to be regarded as a necessary stage of a man's development, the time in his life when he advanced his career and found a mate. This stage permitted bachelors to participate in many activities that married men could not. Bachelors asserted their independence and mastery in other ways as well—through the kind of diary entries they wrote, the taxes they paid, and the resulting political responsibilities they enjoyed to which no slave, servant, or woman had access. Their participation in men's clubs marked the distance between the bachelors and all other dependents and helped to solidify a common group identity.

The Revolution brought about another change. While revolutionary leaders initially belittled bachelors in the press, these men participated in important (and traditional) ways as taxpayers and soldiers. During the war, their performance of civic obligations answered the question of whether they should have the right to vote; since all (white) men were created equal, all men, regardless of marital status, should have the franchise. The special requirements placed on single men thus advanced their eventual claims to full political rights, and distanced women from suffrage.

Overall, this is a brilliant work of historical scholarship. Clear, concise, and well-supported, McCurdy's study sheds light onto a bevy of topics in colonial and revolutionary America. Students of Maryland history will enjoy the attention afforded to the Chesapeake and find McCurdy's coverage of the Tuesday Cub of Annapolis especially insightful in understanding the experience of being a bachelor in early America and the complicated relationship between married men and bachelors in men's clubs. Legal historians, gender historians, and those seeking to understand the dynamics of the family and the creation of an American identity will benefit from his work.

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*The Royal American Regiment: An Atlantic Microcosm, 1755–1772.* By Alexander V. Campbell. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010. 372 pages. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. Cloth, $34.95.)

In this concise, well-written regimental history, Alexander V. Campbell moves far beyond military maneuvers and battlefield tactics to focus the reader's attention on a group of men who embody what he calls a "dynamic Atlantic microcosm." The Royal American, or 60th Regiment of Foot, had its genesis in the early autumn of 1755, just as the Seven Years' War got underway in the American colonies. Campbell's thesis is provocative yet entirely logical. He asserts that eighteenth-century army personnel were the one societal element involved in most key aspects of the Atlantic matrix during times of both war and peace. He argues that his interpretive approach offers a "new look at an old subject," elevating Georgian redcoats to their rightful position as "authentic cast members" on the stage of Atlantic history. This eclectic group of soldiers took on numerous roles both during and after the war. These artisans, authors, diplomats, explorers, legislators, surveyors, and family men significantly "contributed to the growth and vitality of the first British Empire" (14). Campbell supports his thesis using a variety of diaries, period journals, and government reports; most of his research, however, focuses on the private papers penned by the 60th Regiment's first three colonels-in-chief, key field officers, and Swiss mercenaries.

Britain's dire need for competent Protestant army regiments in North America provided a golden opportunity for James Prevost, an unemployed soldier of fortune hoping to resettle in America. The War Office's inability to attract German-speaking immigrants into the regular ranks, along with the high costs associated with hiring continental mercenaries, allowed the self-assured Prevost to secure a regiment ahead of other more experienced competitors (including General James Ogelthorpe). Campbell weaves Prevost's story into a fascinating exegesis on the inner workings of eighteenth-century patronage, naturalization, and transatlantic commerce. The transatlantic migration of the regiment's rank-and-file soldier is a recurrent theme throughout this book. Europeans who joined the 60th Foot were attracted to American military service because of monetary incentives and free transatlantic passage. Colonial Americans who volunteered were usually motivated by the desire to defend their farms or a chance at acquiring a higher quality of life.

Campbell thoroughly explores the everyday life of the common soldier in the Royal American Regiment. Actual combat was rare for the infantryman; training, drilling, and an inordinate amount of manual labor awaited the foot soldier stationed in the American backcountry. The need for hastily constructed forts, roads, and bridges was continuous, and myriad logistical challenges (e.g., guarding supply lines, feeding and clothing the men) could be expected when herding large, unwieldy hordes of soldiers through the countryside. Campbell is masterful at describing

the brutal existence eked out by these eighteenth-century soldiers while trekking through the untamed wilderness—scurvy, dysentery, and insufficient food supplies were constant companions for the colonial warrior.

He devotes a complete chapter to tackling the complex relationship between British soldiers and Native Americans, and challenges the notion that redcoats and Native Americans were maliciously locked in a state of perpetual animosity. Although it is true that Anglo-Native relations were regularly strained during the decade after Pontiac's Rebellion, the author highlights one of the Royal Americans' battalions stationed in the *pays d'en haute* during the 1760s. Commanders had already acquired a degree of intercultural diplomacy from earlier contact with their Cherokee and Catawba allies and were, according to Campbell, "eventually grafted into an extant sociopolitical order already evolving on the frontier between Native communities and Europeans" (13). Moreover, the author claims that Royal American officers elevated these intercultural alliances to a "positive trajectory that benefited the Crown into the nineteenth century" (185).

Campbell's analysis of these hardened veterans' post-war existence is probably the most compelling section of his narrative. He contends that soldiers were almost always able to translate their military experience into practical, everyday civilian aptitudes and professions. It was not uncommon for veterans of varied ethnic backgrounds to pool their land grants, evidencing a strong camaraderie among these men. The large numbers of soldiers who remained in America after their military service had ended were a steadfast lot, largely responsible for creating a stable society for future generations of Americans. Campbell examines his subject from an "Atlantic interpretive" approach that emphasizes the synergy that existed between the Old and New Worlds, while positioning the Royal American Regiment within the "broader social, economic, demographic, religious, and civil framework of the first British Empire" (10). Campbell's approach is far more perceptive and objective than the biased, hyper-nationalistic accounts of nineteenth-century historians such as George Bancroft and Francis Parkman. The author distances himself from relatively recent monographs that rightly emphasize the pre-Revolutionary origins of American nationalism but go too far in asserting that routine redcoat wartime activities (like billeting and impressing draught animals) elevated colonial unrest to the point where a break with Britain was inevitable.

In this rich narrative, Campbell, a former infantryman in the Canadian Armed Forces, deftly peels away layers of statistical and anecdotal veneer to reveal an eclectic cast of eighteenth-century characters who left an assortment of cultural "footprints" on colonial American society. The soldiers described by the author were vibrant, multi-dimensional, and often achieved remarkable feats. Conversely, these same men could be self-absorbed, stubborn, and short-sighted. Campbell's meticulous research and creative writing style reanimate a world that has long since disappeared, while allowing the reader to comprehend the eighteenth-century British infantryman from

multiple perspectives. This book will be of great interest to military and transatlantic cultural historians, but the themes emphasized in this book will add an uncommon historical perspective for any student of early American history.

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*Elizabeth Cady Stanton: An American Life.* By Lori D. Ginzberg. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2009. 254 pages. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. Cloth, $25.00.)

In a recent review article, "The Pleasures (and Dangers) of Biography," *Journal of Women's History*, 19 (2007): 205, Lori Ginzberg admitted to not generally liking or reading biographies. To her, they are often "too exclusive, too self-absorbed, and too packed with dinner parties." At the time Ginzberg wrote those words, she was completing her own foray into the genre of biography, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton: An American Life*, a rich, enjoyable read that avoids all the pitfalls that Ginzberg and probably many others find in such focused historical writing. There are no dreaded dinner parties in this book, but there are plenty of gatherings and more importantly, conversations, where, according to Ginzberg, Stanton was truly in her element and where she made her greatest contribution to woman's rights.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton is best known for organizing the 1848 Woman's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, and for her decades-long leadership of the National Woman Suffrage Association. Ginzberg addresses those important elements of Stanton's public life, but she reminds us through Stanton's own writings, that the discussions about woman's rights were not synonymous with the campaign for woman suffrage. Time and again, she shows Stanton at her best, not behind a podium running suffrage conventions or strategizing with fellow activists about this single issue, but in the company of other strong-minded people (especially men), debating the salient issues of the day and using her intellect, wit, and charm to outdo her opponents. Instead of an organization woman like Susan B. Anthony, Ginzberg argues, Stanton was a thinker, a radical intellectual, who throughout her long life enjoyed "hurling . . . thunder" at those who disagreed with her on a host of issues relating to women's subordination in American society (10).

Numerous other historians have chronicled Stanton's life and work, some celebrating her contributions to the feminist movement, others carefully connecting her to broader social and political developments on the national level. What distinguishes Ginzberg's book from these others is that she grounds Stanton in the historical context of nineteenth-century reform. For example, she nimbly explains Stanton's momentous meeting with female abolitionists in London in 1840 and the reunion of many of those serious, engaged women eight years later at Seneca Falls to show, first, that the idea of woman's rights did not originate with Stanton and, second, that it was only through this community of like-minded people that Stanton

was emboldened to act publicly and make the expansion of woman's rights its own reform movement. Without getting bogged down in too much detail, readers come away understanding the rifts within the abolitionist organizations, the reasons why Garrisonian ultraists like Lucretia Mott already saw the need for gender-related reform, and the constraints that anti-slavery women faced in supporting woman's rights while staying true to the movement of which they were already a part.

Although community and conversation are important themes running throughout this book Ginzberg is careful to reveal Stanton's standing as an outsider and to explain how that shaped the development of her movement. For instance, Ginzberg accurately characterizes Stanton as an accidental abolitionist, connected more to the movement through marriage to Henry Stanton than through any strong conviction of her own about slavery. Similarly, she uses an analysis of the Declaration of Sentiments to explain how Stanton's priorities diverged from those of other woman's rights supporters and how Stanton's sole focus on articulating the strongest intellectual arguments for woman's rights led her to make demands at Seneca Falls that complicated matters for the abolitionists at the convention. Committed entirely to the issues she held dear—dress reform, changes in marriage law, liberalizing divorce laws, and economic equality for women, as well as the vote—she could take what she needed and then walk away from other social reform causes without concern for the potential fallout.

According to Ginzberg, this would develop into something of a habit for Stanton. She gained strength from the presence and support of other reformers, broadcasting the views that they shared to the world, but then she was not afraid to go it alone, to add new, controversial elements to her reform agenda. Such behavior not only upset Americans' conventional understanding about woman's place in society, it also frustrated her fellow activists and at times tarnished Stanton's reputation. This happened during Reconstruction, a truly dark hour for woman's rights reformers, as they battled amongst themselves over the issue of supporting the Fifteenth Amendment, and then later in the century when Stanton penned *The Woman's Bible* as part of her attack on organized religion and drew censure from fellow suffragists. None of this, however, seemed to trouble Elizabeth Cady Stanton. She could grow weary and complain about a hectic travel schedule or the heavy burden of raising seven children with an absent husband, but when people attacked her ideas, she gloried in the fight and fired back, ever confident that not only was she right, but that even negative attention advanced her cause.

Ginzberg also successfully captures the contradictions in the life of this important figure. Although Stanton insisted that all women deserved the liberty and equality of individuals, she lived a rather conventional domestic life, tied down by marriage and family. And though she claimed that her own life experience as daughter, wife, and mother helped her to realize the unfair burdens facing all women, she rarely acknowledged the concerns of working-class women, ignored the plight of slave

women, and seemed unconcerned that her intellectual arguments were decidedly elitist. This excellent biography will bring to lay and academic readers alike an appreciation for Stanton not just as a suffragist, but as a powerful thinker who benefited from living in an era of complex social ferment.

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*Voices from the Back Stairs: Interpreting Servants' Lives at Historic House Museums.* By Jennifer Pustz. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010. 254 pages. Illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, notes, index. Paper, $27.00.)

For historic house museum caretakers as well as historians of material culture this five-chapter volume is a pleasure to read. *Voices from the Back Stairs* by Jennifer Pustz is versatile, clear, and a useful resource for museum professionals as well as historians. Although her research is primarily about paid, domestic servants in upper-middle-class homes in the northeastern United States during the Gilded Age, Pustz' methodology can be applied to other servants in other eras who worked and lived in the shadows of their employers or masters and who left behind less in terms of documents and material evidence.

Pustz has several goals. She wants authenticity, complexity, and balance in the exhibitions of historic house museums. According to Pustz, the wealthy are overrepresented in exhibits, and servants are an integral component of the household's story. A proponent of race, class, and gender as a useful paradigm for analysis, Pustz advocates incorporating social history into exhibitions and interpretations. This results in a broader definition of authenticity that encompasses "the whole truth . . . and the history of all Americans" (7). Pustz also envisions a house museum that is no longer object-centered but idea-centered, where objects no longer control the discussion, but ideas or themes drive the narrative. One idea she stresses is an interpretive tour based on the burning question for the wealthy regarding household help: the difficulty finding, hiring, and keeping "good help." In Chapter 3, "The Ideal, the Real, and the Servant Problem," she shows how this was represented in a wide variety of contemporary sources, and in Chapter 4, "Using the Servant Problem to Interpret Domestic Life," she maps out how to research and implement this theme. Also included in the book is a Photo Essay that illustrates the "Servant Problem."

The book is also a progress report regarding the extent to which social history has been appropriated by historic house museums. In Chapter 1, "Shrines, Slaver Quarters, and Social Relevance — The Changing Historic House Museum," Pustz traces the thinking about historic houses and how it has changed over time. These changes have come about because of the inroads that scholars of social history have made into museum studies, and also as part of a response to new and shrinking audiences, financial strains, and competition. Longevity is about the ability to adapt to a more

diverse audience, become socially relevant, and foster repeat visitation. Pustz argues that the museums that remain viable today are those that reflect diversity, include nuance, and integrate the public side of the house's story with the private side. She points out that although museums have made great strides in addressing slavery as a vital part of the household, often the presentation is segregated or addressed in a passive voice. Balance means noting that these individuals were slaves, but what they *did* humanizes them. Next, in Chapter 2, "Interpretation of Domestic Service at Post–Civil War House Museums," Pustz examines the extent to which social history has been appropriated by historic house museums. She discusses the results of her 2003 nationwide mail survey of 350 house museums; the text of the mail questionnaire is provided in the first Appendix. Among many findings, Pustz notes that those museums that tap into school and university lesson plans are the most grounded in social history. She also found that the topics addressed most infrequently were conflicts between servant and employer. In Chapter 5, "Case Studies in Domestic Service Interpretation," Pustz provides many concrete examples of creative approaches and solutions to interpretive challenges in the implementation of social history. A second Photo Essay illustrates contemporary examples of domestic service.

*Voices* is also a "how to" book in that it is full of suggestions and examples as to how historians can get around the lacunae of primary evidence directly relating to servants. Rejecting the idea that "conjecture" is a flawed methodology, Pustz suggests complementing the household context of material culture with binders containing original photographs, letters, and/or other examples of primary sources that might or might not be associated with that specific site. Even if there are no photographs of the actual servants, advertisements from contemporary magazines and job descriptions would be a useful demonstration of the desired servant. Displaying contemporary furnishings, such as screen room dividers or tools associated with various jobs, yields a visual reading of a servant's life experience. Based on the size of the house and number of family members one can speculate about servants' work in the household.

Pustz includes informative historiographic vignettes. One aspect of her paradigm that could be problematic is that if there was indeed a high turnover rate she may be overestimating the influence and impact of these transient members of the household. Also, if museums pool resources and examples to a great extent, might this result in homogenization, or a loss of unique characteristics? These issues notwithstanding, the book is a very useful guide to a difficult question.

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*Washington Sculpture: A Cultural History of Outdoor Sculpture in the Nation's Capital.* By James M. Goode. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008. 834 pages. Illustrations, appendixes, glossary, bibliography, index. Cloth, $75.00.)

With his latest book, *Washington Sculpture*, James M. Goode extends a welcome hand to newcomers, transients, and long-time residents of Washington, D.C., by inviting them to learn about their region from the ground up, on foot, by bike or scooter, via public transportation, or car. Accurate, legible, and visually attractive maps pinpoint the featured outdoor artworks. Readers can easily navigate the volume. Using accessible language and straightforward writing, Goode discusses nearly five hundred monuments, memorials and statues, headstones, and architectural elements from the obvious to the overlooked in the capital and its environs. Brief biographies of selected sculptors round out a beginner's orientation to the region's sculpture. Updating his 1974 classic, *The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C.*, this tome, although unwieldy as a field guide, is a welcome addition to books on the region's sculptural and architectural riches.

Goode's book is generously illustrated with black-and-white period and contemporary photographs, drawings, and details, all of which help to locate the artwork, understand its context, and increase appreciation. Unfortunately, the contemporary photographs are the least useful element in this otherwise very useful book. Many lack definition, with little contrast and indistinct inscriptions and details. Excellent photography, key to documenting and illustrating outdoor sculpture, is a tricky business. Light levels and reflections, shrubbery, street furniture, and general location, sculpture materials and details, and choice of printing paper each play a role in successfully capturing the subject. Students of Maryland's history, art, urban planning and preservation will find this a modestly practical reference. Roughly 7 percent of the artworks are in Maryland suburbs and span two centuries. The National Art Inventories of the Smithsonian American Art Museum list 871 outdoor sculptures in or about Maryland. Those listings are part of the results of "Save Outdoor Sculpture," a collaborative effort of the Museum and Heritage Preservation.

Outdoor sculptures are erected and ignored for various reasons and so generate valuable and different lessons. Two Maryland artworks in Goode's book can be called out for their creation and preservation stories, notable for tales with twists and turns and exemplars for eventual responsible stewardship. One, the earliest public monument erected in Washington, commemorates American naval officers who died in the Tripolitan War. *The Tripoli Monument*, 1807, carved in marble by Carlo Giacinto Micali, is sizeable and complex. Sculpted in Italy and assembled at the Washington Navy Yard, it survived the British invasion of 1814, moved to the Capitol grounds in 1831, and in 1860 was relocated to the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, where it resides today. Of fragile material and in an unfriendly climate, *The Tripoli Monument* gives testament to history and fortitude through two hundred years. The second, Greenbelt's *Mother and Child*, 1939, carved in limestone by Lenore Thomas Straus, was a product of the New Deal social experiment. Originally a drinking fountain, the sculpture was prominently located on the town square, a symbol for the model town. Again because of fragile material and an aggressive atmosphere, over time *Mother*

*and Child* was in a precarious state only sixty years after its dedication. To celebrate the millennium, thanks to conservation efforts by U.S. Naval Academy alumnae in 2000 and Greenbelt community groups in 2005, both in partnership with SOS leadership, and with responsible ongoing stewardship, that pair will be around to be included in other books about Maryland's sculptural assets.

*Washington Sculpture* gives a nod to conservation efforts throughout the text and includes the valuable section, "Sculpture Removed." The inclusion of a handful of short case studies or in-depth paragraphs about individual and community ventures to save and maintain existing outdoor sculpture would enrich the book and empower readers to care for and about these fragile footnotes to Maryland's and America's history. Goode includes an appendix on techniques to execute marble and bronze sculpture. Another appendix on how choices of material, site, and landscaping affect the appearance and long-term maintenance costs of outdoor artworks would raise awareness about the need for thoughtful consideration of the design of new commissions. An expanded discussion of the National Art Inventories and the ongoing data collection about lost, extant, and new outdoor artworks would encourage additional entries, updates, preservation and scholarship activities, and result in an enriched database and documentation of our national collection of outdoor sculpture.

*Washington Sculpture: A Cultural History of Outdoor Sculpture in the Nation's Capital* succinctly captures the region's range of outdoor artworks spanning two hundred years and more than two hundred sculptors. It is a reference book that will tease readers onto boulevards and parks, office buildings and federal buildings, and satisfy others who prefer to curl up with this Goode book.

Susan K. Nichols
*Smithsonian American Art Museum*

# Letters to the Editor

*Editor:*

In your spring 2010 issue William Dudley observes certain actions taken by the Critical Area Commission relative to Blackwater Resorts (p. 67). Unfortunately he has his facts wrong. It is true the commission voted against granting "growth allocation" for the project—an issue wholly different from "a zoning change," the phrase used by Mr. Dudley. The events leading up to that point are different from those he recounts and Martin O'Malley had nothing to do with the resolution of the matter, he was not then in office. When the project appeared on the scene, a group of local citizens formed Dorchester Citizens for Planned Growth, devoted to fighting what they and many others perceived to be an inappropriate development. Battles were fought on various fronts stringing out the approval process that included a preliminary submission that led the commission to put the matter on hold while they developed a policy for golf courses in the Critical Areas. (There is another whole story to that matter.)

Throughout this time Chesapeake Bay Foundation had nothing to do with the issues. Recognizing the power of CBF, DCPG had been attempting to get CBF involved but it was only after the policy was being developed that CBF became interested in the matter. Once interested, CBF did an excellent job in supporting DCPG's battles on all fronts leading up to the decision to deny the growth allocation. At that point the developer had to choose between appealing the decision, redesigning the project, or abandoning it. Before any further action was taken, Charles Evans, a political appointee of Governor Robert Ehrlich, approached the developer with a proposition to sell two-thirds of the land, including the critical areas, to the State of Maryland. The developer agreed and after further negotiations struck a deal. Governor Ehrlich (not Governor O'Malley) approved the deal and the matter was resolved. The commission's subsequent work with the state legislature produced statutes that strengthened the commission's hand.

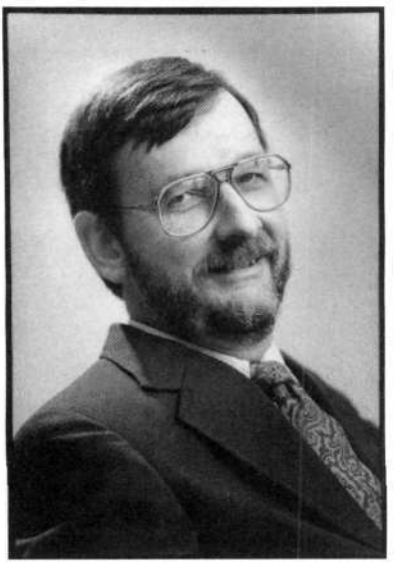
*Doug Worrall*
*Cambridge, Md.*

Author's Reply:

Mr. Worrall's letter is correct. I was mistaken in my interpretation of the events surrounding the Blackwater Resorts issue that arose in the years 2004 to 2006. I should have been more careful in checking the facts I had read and used. I was also unaware at that time of the role played by the Dorchester Citizens for Planned Growth in getting the attention of the Chesapeake Bay Foundation. This action alerted many to this particular environmental crisis and led to Governor Ehrlich's

involvement which resolved the issue. The work of the Chesapeake Bay Critical Area Commission is vitally important to maintaining the health of the bay and depends on the continuing support of informed citizens and policy makers.

*WSD*



# 2010
# Joseph L. Arnold Prize for Outstanding Writing on Baltimore's History.

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Thanks to the generosity of the Byrnes Family in Memory of Joseph R. and Anne S. Byrnes the *Baltimore City Historical Society* presents an annual Joseph L. Arnold Prize for Outstanding Writing on Baltimore's History, in the amount of $500.

Joseph L. Arnold, Professor of History at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, died in 2004, at the age of sixty-six. He was a vital and enormously important member of the UMBC faculty for some three and a half decades as well as a leading historian of urban and planning history. He also played an active and often leading role with a variety of private and public historical institutions in the Baltimore area and at his death was hailed as the "dean of Baltimore historians."

Entries should be unpublished manuscripts between 15 and 45 double-spaced pages in length (including footnotes/endnotes). Entries should be submitted via email as attachments in MS Word or PC convertible format. If illustrations are included, they must be submitted along with the text in either J-peg or TIF format.

Criteria for selection are: significance, originality, quality of research and clarity of presentation. The winner will be announced in spring, 2011. The BCHS reserves the right to not to award the prize if the pool of submissions is inappropriate for the award. The winning entry will be considered for publication in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

Further inquiries may be addressed to: Prof. Kriste Lindenmeyer, lindenme@umbc.edu, 410-455-2047.

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